591 clearly an available option. The senior couple then live there
768 by themselves until one of them dies, in which case the widow(er) moves to the house of some one of the children, or alternatively, the youngest son moves in to the parental house, closing his own.

These, then, constitute the modalities of the pattern of
591 592 residence movement which take place at or near the time of marriage in the preponderance of cases. Other de facto household compositions may be interpreted as variant forms of this pattern with the addition of further particular circumstances of little apparent generality.

We have suggested that the observer may understand something of the nature of household composition in Aguacatenango in terms of consanguineal and affinal relationships of the members involved. We see that individuals join existing households primarily through marriage to some member in the household and that new households are established as the potential marriage slots
• 571 557 in the existing household fill up. The organization of members in the household as well as the membership in other enduring groups is expressed in part in terms of names which are assigned to individuals on the basis of absolute and relative characteristics they are perceived, and perceive themselves, to possess. These characteristics serve to define a membership potential for any individual and to exclude him effectively from alternative positions. They are used frequently in the course of interactions

571 551 between members of the community to identify persons in references--that is, persons who are not present in the conversation. From the speaker's point of view, they as unambiguously identify individuals as does naming the house in which they live. So, then, turning from a general consideration of the membership of houses, we now consider the variety of intersecting classes in terms of which the individuals in the houses may be identified. This listing will introduce the principal organizing features in the community, each of which will then receive separate treatment.

571 551 601 554 Terms of reference in Aguacatenango include (1) personal names; (2) relationship terms--kinship, ritual kinship or compadrazgo and other relationships of a more general nature; (3) "role names," which identify persons in terms of characteristics other than interpersonal relationships; and certain combinations of these three types.

551 Personal names

The major subclass of the set of personal names, identifiable as Christian names, is subdivided on the basis of sex; with a few exceptions, a particular Christian name is appropriate to males or to females but not to both. Christian names may be used with a possessive prefix, e.g. /H-MARIA/, "my Maria," to refer to children of the coordinating person. They can be made diminutive by the addition of /C'IN/, "little."

585 608 601 602 sometimes modified by /MUK'UL/ or /C'IN/, as previously shown. When, in addition to the exchange of gifts which constitutes the traditional wedding, the couple is married in the church, a pair of padrinos (male and female) is chosen from outside the set of relatives who become compadres in the ceremony just mentioned. These people are referred to as /TAT+SNARYOS~PAGRINO/ and /-ME*+SNARYOS~MAGRINA/ by the married couple (who are called by them, respectively, /-NIC'AN+SNARYOS~IHADA/ and /-*AL+SNARYOS~*IHADA/) and as /-KUMPRE/~/-KUMRE/ (self-reciprocally) by the parents of the married partners.

796 608 The fiesta of Noche Buena establishes /-KUMPRE/~/-KUMRE/ relations, and no others, between the host of the fiesta and a few other individuals he invites to sponsor the fiesta.

Other relationship terms

571 192 There remains a set of terms which, when used with possessive prefixes, identify the referent in terms of a more general relationship to some coordinating person. These terms are as follows:

(1) /HOY/, "companion" (in reference to spouses; one who lives in the same house, including specific kin; and all of the specified kinds of companion below)

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(2) /HOY TA YAKBEL/, "drinking companion"

(3) /HOY TA *A*TEL/, "working companion"

(4) /HOY+YAXBEN/, "traveling companion"

(5) /*AMIGO/, "friend"

(6) /BESINO/ /NAHPAL NOCOL/, "neighbor"

(7) /-KONTRA/ /-*ENEMIGO/, "enemy"

(8) /-*AHWAL/, "boss"

Examination of genealogical data, data as to residence, and compadrazgo relations reveals (as might be inferred from the apparent meaning of /HOY/) that the same referent may occupy more than a single one of these associative roles at the same time as well as be kin and/or compadre to the coordinating individual, though in any given reference term only one such identification will be employed. Though formally mutually exclusive (as in the less general case of kin and compadrazgo terms), all of these may intersect in the same individual.

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These general relationship terms combine with names, terms of compadrazgo, and teknonymous constructions, both in terms where the second form specifies the first, e.g. /HOYTIK SIRIL HWARES/, "our companion Cirilo Juarez," and in terms where the second form refers to a cocrdinating person, /S-HOY S-MAGRINA/, "her madrina's companion." The general relationship terms share with kin terms the feature that in complex terms they are always the first of the two forms; terms of compadrazgo combine with

571 192 601 551 these two sets of terms only as the second term but always precede names, role names, and teknonymous constructions. General relationship terms are like the terms of compadrazgo in that they may be specified by a personal name (as above).

"Role names"

571 192 554 The set of terms to which we apply the label "role names" is distinguished by the fact that these terms usually occur unpossessed and are not defined in terms of a relationship to some person. While they occasionally have possessive prefixes, they never occur in the third person in coordinating constructions. Also, when possessed, these forms always carry the agentive prefix /-H-/, which is optional in the unpossessed variants. Thus:

Unpossessed	Possessed
/PRESIRENTE/ /H-PRESIRENTE/ "presidente"	/*AW-AH-PRESIRENTE/ "your presidente"
/H-*UL/ "curandero"	/*AW-AH-*UL/ "your curandero"

Among the forms in this class is /(H)KAK(1)AN(-ETIK)/, "ladinos (as a class)," which contrasts with the elicited from /H-TUL H-LUMAL/, "one of my pueblo (Aguacatenango)." (Both forms are included under the headword /KRISTYANO-ETIK/, "human being," which contrasts with /CAMBALAM-ETIK/, "animals," and /TUTU-TIK/, "things.")

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The dimensions of contrast are not simple here, since there is involved as well /H-TUL YAN LUM/, "one of another pueblo" in reference as well to persons other than ladinos. Furthermore, an immediate contrast that suggests itself to the informants when differentiating themselves from ladinos is:

[829]

/H-TUL LUMAL/	/KAXLAN/
/POBR-ETIK/	/K'ULEHETIK/
"the poor ones"	"the rich ones"

[1156] Among other forms of the class is a series which represents alternative terms for a single group of people, i.e., native curers:

/H-*UL~H-POXTAWAN(EH)~H-*AK'-POX/~/H-ME*TIK+TATIK/

which while possibly distinctive (we are unprepared to say until our studies of Tzeltal medicine have proceeded further), share the characteristic performance /PIK C'IC'/ "pulsing." A contrasting form /H-*OKTOR/, "doctor," marks a curer who does not know how to pulse, but who instead gives "consultations." The form /*OKTOR/ differs from the others in this subset in that it may also be used as a modifier, as in /*OKTOR PEYRO/, "Dr. Pedro" (in reference to an Indian nurse) and /*OKTOR+KAXLAN/, "ladino doctor."

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Other terms in the "role-name" class cannot conveniently be lumped under a descriptive head. Some might perhaps be labeled "occupational," but this would result in merely grouping together otherwise distinctive forms in a way which appears "reasonable" to the ethnographer. In this heterogeneous group are the following, all of which have the agentive prefix.

/H.KANAN+LUM/	"overseer of land"
/H.PRINSEPAL KRINSIPAL/	"principal, elder"
/H.GOBYERNO/	"governor (of the state)"
/H.ME*BAL/	"orphan"
/H.LO*LIWANEH/	"liar"

Another subgroup of terms lacks possessive or agentive prefixes, and these share the feature that the referents are persons outside the Indian community. These terms are the following:

/COHWER/	"driver"
/DOKTOR/	"doctor"
/DOKTOR+DENTISTA/	"dentist"
/KARPINTERA/	"carpenter"
/MASTRI/	"teacher"

Two other terms in this class are exceptions to the rule that requires the agentive prefix when possessed; /-*ANZ/, "woman," and /-WINIK/, "man," may be used with the possessive prefix alone,

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192 and the meanings of the possessed forms are "wife" or "husband" of the coordinating person.

The remainder of the forms in this class are subsumed under the headword /H.*A*TEL-ETIK/, "workers."

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621 On the next lower level of contrast, the headword is modified by one of the mutually exclusive post-modifiers /TA KABILTO/, "in the cabildo (civil)"; /TA MARTOMIL/, "in the mayordomía (religious)." These in turn constitute head words of two mutually exclusive classes of forms. The set of contrasting forms in the class /H.*A*TEL-ETIK TA KABILTO/ is as follows (in order of ascending rank):

/MAYOR/, "policía" ranked from /XWAXKEBAL/, "eighth," to /BA/, "first" or /HEFE DE KWARTEL/

/SINTIKO/, "síndico"

/REHIDOR/, "regidor" ranked from /XCEBAL/ "second" to /BA/ "first"

/XCEBAL REHIMAL/, "second regimal"

/BA REHIMALA~ SUPLENTE PRESIRENTE/, "first rehimal or assistant presidente"

/PRESIRENTE~*AHENTE (MUNISIPAL)/, "presidente or ahente munisipal"

/XCEBAL HWES/, "second juez"

/HWES/—/*ALKAL/, "juez"

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621 (Several forms not included in this set are nevertheless part of the civil administration--/SEKRETARYO/, "secretary," /PRESIRENTE DE EDUKASYON/, "supervisor of education," and /KOMISARYADO *EYHIDAL/, "ejido commissioner.")

The /*A*TEL-ETIK TA KABILTO/ are responsible for the civil business of the community, resolution of conflicts brought before it, the maintenance of community facilities and the making of a limited number of decisions which affect the community as a whole. Its members are recruited yearly for one-year terms
[641] the whole group assuming office in January. Every male in the community is expected to hold office as a civil cargo holder four times in his life, and the order of recruitment to the position for any individual is more or less fixed.

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192 The forms of the class /H.*A*TEL-ETIK TA MARTOMIL/ are
794 grouped as follows (also in order of ascending rank):

The first and lowest set of positions includes:

/MARTOMO SAKRAMENTO/	"mayordomo of San Antonio"
/MARTOMO ME*TIK ROSARYO/	"mayordomo of the Virgin of Rosario"
/MARTOMO ME*TIK NATIBIDAD/	"mayordomo of the Virgin of Natividad"

By lowest, we mean that set of positions into one of which an individual would initially be co-opted upon entering the mayordomía.

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554 The saint's name associated with each is that one for whose fiesta
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794 the mayordomo is primarily responsible. The second and next lowest set of positions includes:

/MARTOMO *ANIMA/ "mayordomo of Todos Santos"

/MARTOMO SAN MARTIN/ "mayordomo of San Martin"

The third set includes the position:

/MARTOMO SANTA CRUS/ "mayordomo of Santa Cruz"

And the fourth set includes the position:

/MARTOMO SAN SEBSTYAN/ "mayordomo of San Sebastian"

In turn, for each of the saints, there are two mayordomos, ranked relative to each other, the higher in rank being the:

/BA MARTOMO/ "1st mayordomo"

and the other being the:

/CE*BAL MARTOMO/ "2nd mayordomo"

The /*A*TEL-ETIK TA MARTOMIL/ are formally responsible for the correct interpretation of the saints' days celebrated in Aguacatenango. There are seven of these fiestas under the supervision of the mayordomía, and two /MARTOMO-ETIK/ are co-opted for each, the pair serving for one year beginning on the saint's

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571 554 192 [794] day for which they serve. Every male in the community is held responsible to be co-opted into four /MARTOMO/ positions before he is freed from any further performaces of this sort, and as was pointed out earlier, these positions must be held earlier.

The various forms of the "role-name" set most often occur as simple terms of reference, often modified by status terms. However, the combination /H-KUMPRE SEKRETARYO/ "my compadre, the secretary" is reported.

Modifiers

In addition to the basic classes of terms of reference, modifiers are important in identifying persons. Among these are enumerators, diminutives (mentioned above), and demonstratives. Two modifiers establish the physical condition of the referent-- [602] /CAM/ and /*AN(I)MA/, both glossed as "dead." One, /MERO/, noted earlier, distinguishes "legitimate" or "real" relationship from terminological equivalence, as in /MERO *ERMANO/, "true brother." 571 554 561 192 [562] Two, differing only by sex of referent, indicate advanced age: /MA MAMAL/ "old" (male referent) and /ME*L/, "old" (female referent). When these two modifiers are used with terms indicating younger persons, the incongruity expresses depreciation or derogation. Other modifiers, most of which are age-status terms like the special kin terms discussed earlier, include the following:

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/C'UL/	"holy"	honorific titles used with
/SENYOR/	"mister"	role-names of the /H.*A*TEL-ETIK/ group
/YAN/	"other"	
/NEK/	"big"	
/SOLTERA/	"unmarried"	used with /KEREM/ "boy" and /*AC'IX/ "girl" primarily to establish precise age-status (adolescence)
/DON DONYA/	"mister mrs."	used with names of ladinos
/NINYA/	"miss"	

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Still another set of modifiers occurs after the noun head rather than before and includes internally complex phrases. These might be termed locatives, and they include /NUN/ "there," /LI*/ "here," and such combinations as /NUN TA HEHC/, "there on the other side (i.e., in the other barrio of Aguacatenango)"; /LI* TA *ALAN/, "here below (i.e., in El Puerto, a closely related village down the mountain)"; /LI* TA TEHKLUM/, "here in the pueblo"; /LI* TA PAT NA/, "here behind the house"; /NUN TA *AHK'OL/, "here above"; and /NUN TA XOHLEH/, "there at the corner."

While the subject of the relationships (position and co-occurrence) between modifiers and between modifiers and noun heads will be deferred until a forthcoming paper, some general

571 idea about the use of modifiers can be gained from a brief list
192 of examples. These examples are also illustrative of some of the complexity of personal reference in Aguacatenango.

/TE CAM MA TATIK HOSE GOMES/	"the late old Mr. Jose Gomez"
/MA TA(T) S-TA(T) CUS KAYTANO/	"old Mr. Jesus' father, Cayetano"
/H-MA KUMPRE S-TAT CEN/	"my old compadre, Cresencio's father"
/ME*L WIX PETRONA MENTES/	"old (elder sister) Petrona Mendez"
/S-ME*L *INAM/	"his old wife"
/ME*L ME* ZME* H.PINI/	"old Mrs. Delfina's mother"
/H-KUMPRE S-TAT KANT(E)LARYA	"my compadre, Candelario's father here above"
/BANKIL LUTERYO NUN TA *AHK'OL/	"(elder brother) Eleuterio here above"
/TATIK SINTIKO NUN TA *ALAN/	"Mr. Sindico there below"
/SENYOR *AHENTE/	"Mr. agente"
/MA DON MANWEL/	"old Don Manuel"

571 The patterns of social relationships are displayed in the order and arrangement of individuals in households and in the sets of role-names which frequently occur in the conversa-

571 tions of community members. We now propose to display some of the ways in which further sets of performances, among them drinking, are associated with those already described.

Roles and the procurement of alcohol

273* 571 178 The procurement of alcohol for drinking involves social relationships which have undergone a change within the period of study. Traditionally, Aguacatenangueros have obtained 273* 439 aguardiente--a distilled sugar cane alcohol--by purchase. For many years aguardiente was manufactured by ladinos in San Cristobal and in Comitan principally for sale to the Indians. Before 1940, one ladino family established a liquor monopoly throughout the highlands and with the aid of government liquor inspectors was able to close down all competitors, which meant that production in Comitan and San Cristobal was completely stopped save for the factories of this family. In the first part of this period, then, Aguacatenangueros bought all their aguardiente from Comitan, and it was and still is known as 273* 548 comiteco by Indians and ladinos throughout the area. With the closing down of the several factories that produced aguardiente, Indians--principally Chamulas--began to manufacture the aguardiente in clandestine stills in mountain areas that were apparently difficult to patrol. [435] The monopoly determined price of about 90 pesos a garafón (18 liters) was cut nearly in half by these clandestine operators.

273 887 621 Old men often give up drinking except when, as office holders, they are obligated to participate in drinking performances. Changes in drinking patterns during the life cycle

273* 539 are discussed by Felix Perez as follows:

HTATIK TA HNA *AMETO LEK SYA*BE C'IN TRAWO, HO*TIK X*ATEHOTIK *A MATO HNA*TIK YUC'EL *A C'IN TRAWI.

My father drank aguardiente a lot. We worked, we didn't know how to drink aguardiente.

*EHK STUKEL KOM TA YUC'EL Z'IN *EHK C'IN TRAWI.

Then he himself stopped drinking trago.

*ATEHON HPAS PUERSA NAME TALE MATO KUC'LEK *EHK *A C'IN TRAWI.

I worked, I made an effort for several years. I didn't drink much trago.

YUN Z'IN TE HLIHK HZAK MANYA Z'IN *EHKE, KUC' PERO YUN LA KILIX TEK TE *AY TU*Y KUN Z'IN *EHKE.

Then the madness began to get hold of me, and I drank, but it was because I saw that I had something of my own.

Composition of drinking groups

273* 571 Almost without exception, men drink in groups rather than alone. The importance of companions in the development of a

273* 539 571 drinking situation is suggested by Sabino Hernandez' description of one such situation:

TAL Z'IN *IL *ABANKIL, STAT CIKO, BETO Z'INI.

In came your elder brother, the father of Francisco, Alberto.

HUL SK'AN HUN KWARTA XC'IN YA*AL.

He came to ask for a cuarto of aguardiente.

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HA* Z'INABI; *OC KUC' SOK, Z'INABI.

Then I entered into drinking with him.

LAH Z'IN TE HUN KWARTA Z'IN HC'IN-KA*ALTIK Z'INE.

We finished a cuarto of aguardiente.

HK'AN HUN XAN KWARTA KU*N *EHUK.

I ordered another cuarto for my part.

KUC' SOK Z'INABI.

I drank this with him.

KON SOK Z'INABI YUKUBEL XAN, TAL XAN YAN WINIKETIK.

With that the drunk began, other men came.

LIHK HZOB HBAHTIK XAN...

We began to gather together again . . .

MUK'UBIX LO*L *ABI.

(The drinking situation) began to come out bigger.

Solitary drinking is rare. Speaking of one Antonio who has come repeatedly to his friend's house, already drunk, and has finally gone off alone, Carmen Espinoza laughs:

*E MA*Y SHOK XC'IN-TUKEL, HE-HE-HE-HE-!

And he doesn't have a companion, he's all by himself! Ha, ha, ha.

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The most frequent response to the question, "How do you begin to drink?" was "when someone invites me." The invitation may come from brothers, compadres, "friends" or "companions" (these classes, as I have noted, tend to intersect in the same

273* individuals), and occasionally one's children. The close association of drinking with household rituals--birth, baptism, marriage, illness and death, the building of a new house, the settling of disputes--is consistent with this pattern, for it is kinsmen and neighbors (often also compadres) who participate in these rituals. Men who are not related become involved together in drinking performances by virtue of the fact that certain roles--those of officeholders in the civil and religious hierarchies--entail ceremonial drinking by definition. Alternatively, men who are not friends or relatives may drink together whenever they choose to continue drinking after their closer companions have stopped. Individual patterns of drinking vary. Of the seventy-six men asked how long they usually continue drinking, once they have begun, six reported that they drink less than a day, thirty-four that they drink a full day or a day and a night, nineteen that they drink two or three days, and nine that they drink four days or more. Thus about 40 per cent of the men questioned reported that once they engage in a drinking performance, they continue drinking for two days or more. This being the case, it is fairly likely that some or all of one's drinking companions of the first day of drinking have chosen to sober up on the second day. The man who cannot find friends to drink with must either stop drinking himself or relax his restrictions on the characteristics of drinking companions. The

273* social distance between drinking companions increases with the
•571 length of time from the original drinking situation, and one finds men who live great distances apart and even men from opposite barrios (who are afraid of each other when sober) sharing a bottle of aguardiente as the days go by.

273* Aguacatenango men drink largely within the community,
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571 and even when men drink in market towns such as Pinola or Teopisca they tend to drink with their traveling companions and not with ladinos. (The one or two reports of Aguacatenangueros drinking with ladinos involved fully bilingual individuals, and they ended with fighting or loss of property by the Aguacatenango men.)

273* Drinking in Aguacatenango is scheduled in terms of the
182 calendar of saints' days and by the occurrence of critical events in the life cycle of individuals--e.g., birth, baptism, marriage (and sometimes divorce), and death. Drinking is also an essential part of the resolution or the escalation of conflict, of illness and curing, of the branding of livestock and of the consecration of new buildings. Participation in a particular drinking cycle is largely determined by--and signifies--an individual's membership in a household group, in the civil or the religious hierarchy, or in the larger, highly relational role set including bilateral kindred, ritual kinsmen, and neighOOO bors. Participation in drinking cycles is restricted to adult

273* 695 Drinking is characteristic in court settlement once the outcome has been decided. One or both parties to the dispute will present one to five liters of aguardiente to the ayuntamiehto who with the parties will drink it up, the aguardiente being equally distributed among all persons present, the relative order of drinking being that described in Chapter II.

273* 695 57/ While interpretations of the "meaning of drinking" in the terminal period of the settlement of a dispute are by and large speculative, we may observe that such drinking appears to signal that the role relationships specific to the dispute are now dissolved. That is, the court no longer judges, and the disputants are no longer in jeopardy with reference to each other. Rather it is the case that the relationships between those involved have been returned to their pre-conflict state. The enduring relationships between the individuals previous to the conflict again hold. It should also be observed that the gift to the ayuntamiento of aguardiente is a form of payment for having mediated the dispute.

273* 695 Drinking performances in conflict settlement can be easily identified as either ceremonial or informal. The ceremonial drinking expression following conflict settlement begins with the presentation of the aguardiente to the ayuntamiento by one of the parties to the dispute. The ceremonial drinking segment terminates when this aguardiente has been drunk up by those present. Addi-

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER V

SUMMING THE MATTER UP

273* 554 There are basically two patterns of drinking among the Aguacatenangueros. The first of these we may define as the internally complex unit ± ceremonial drinking ± informal drinking (but at least one of these). The second of these we will define as intermittent non-cumulative drinking--that is, drinking performances which do not lead to deep drunkenness. These two patterns of drinking performances are associated with large classes of the population. The ceremonial drinking ± informal drinking pattern is expressed by married males. The intermittent non-cumulative drinking pattern is expressed by all other persons (unmarried males and all females).[1] When individuals drink, they are constrained to express one pattern or the other as is congruent with their role. By drinking in a particular way, an individual certifies his membership in a particular role class.

273* 591 885 Adult males (equivalent to males married at least once) drink within the limitations of the ceremonial drinking ± in-

[184] [171] [1]This particular contrast is not general to all Tzeltal-Tzotzil speakers in the Chiapas highlands.

formal drinking pattern. These limits may be expressed in terms of the necessity to drink under those circumstances when one is a member of a group which is engaging in a ceremonial drinking sequence. Every male is a member of several such groups. Under most conditions the ceremonial drinking segment leads to deep drunkenness. Under most conditions the ceremonial drinking segment is followed by an informal drinking segment. Informal drinking segments also lead to deep drunkenness. Following the participation in such segments, a man probably recuperates for a day before he returns to his regular daily routines. Hence a typical drinking performance may be expressed as ceremonial drinking ± informal drinking + recuperating period.

The ceremonial drinking ± informal drinking pattern is, as we have seen, an essential component of many recurring performances in Aguacatenango. We have described the role of drinking in the celebration of family and community holidays, the certification of civil authority, the resolution of conflict, and the etiology as well as the treatment of illness. The indispensability of drinking to such performances is suggested in the following exchange between the ayuntamiento which is retiring and the ayuntamiento which is entering office (as reported by Juan Perez).

273* 571 these performances. Ceremonial drinking-informal drinking performances involve the careful pacing of drinking so that every member of the ceremonial drinking-informal drinking group is in an equivalent state of drunkenness (insofar as this can be controlled by controlling the distribution of aguardiente). When members of such a group relate to people who are outside it--who have not been drinking--the probability of hostility and [593] violence increases. Women are warned that their husbands, as a result of having participated in a ceremonial drinking performance, will be more "temperamental" in interaction; will be more likely to curse them and strike them for any minor irritation. Proper, relaxed, behavior is possible between individuals who are fellow ceremonial drinking or informal drinking members, or between individuals who are sober, but are more difficult to express between individuals one of whom is drunk and the other of whom is sober.

Ceremonial drinking-informal drinking performances result in side effects which participants would prefer not to accept as the basis for further inference and action. Blows or harsh words, that might be exchanged if these were used to define the quality of interpersonal relations, would exclude other possible transactions such as loaning money or goods, asking favors for curing, exchanging labor and so on. Under such circumstances in Aguacatenango, there is developed a "theory" of

273* ceremonial drinking-informal drinking performances which specifically precludes using drunken behavior as a basis for further inference and action. The detectable intent of a drunken man's behavior is irrelevant to one's relationship with him when he is sober. The normal character evaluation procedures which individuals use to form estimates of the behavior potential of others is stopped. This, like all conditions, however, is only proximate as is indicated in a number of texts in which drunken behavior is used as a basis for character evaluation. Nonetheless, such evaluations tend to count for less when some man's character is being summed up.

273* The non-optional character of drinking performances over broad classes of social roles precludes the easy diagnosis of specific "reasons" why any particular individual drinks. Required and customary behavior patterns do not permit a facile explanation as to the intent of a particular individual in engaging in them. In turn, the ceremonial drinking-informal drinking pattern is so general and so recurring across settings and circumstances that it is difficult to conclude the "individuals drink to reduce anxiety" (p. 3 of this thesis) or that "drinking serves a predominantly integrative role" (ibid.) or that drinking is related to "variables indicating a personal rather than a corporate organization" (ibid.). An anthropologist, in the face of conclusions such as these, must point out that

18 When a serious illness caused by witchcraft has been cured, the patient In the Eyes of the Ancestors
789 must be protected against reentry of the evil by a gift of medicine to the house. Palm crosses are made for the corner posts and the entry, and a medicine consisting of a mixture of garlic and creosote, the seeds of mustard, and *poštan*, a "hot" herb, is mixed. As the crosses are nailed on the posts, the curer marks a cross with the medicine over the palm cross. This "covers the eyes of the evil spirit" so that it will not enter the house.

776 342 The relationship between house spirit and the spirits of the residents is an uneasy one. Fear is associated with this capricious spirit, who might make an alliance with evil spirits, and whose power is evident only in sickness and in death, never in good deeds. A sense of alienation is conveyed in the fact that the house spirit and the spirits of the spring are conceived of as Ladinos. Spirits of the house and of the landscape are exacting landlords from whom the tenants expect nothing in return for their offerings [782] but freedom from harm. Acceptance of the offerings seals a contract between spiritual occupants that must continually be renewed in order to maintain the balance of security expressed in the phrase "to be of one heart." The payment of a "tribute" in the form of food, liquor, and entertainment is part of a larger strategy by which these Indians ensure their survival by appeasement of overlords, demanding government officials, and the very rats which live in their houses and feed on the corn they store in the eaves.

[557] [571] [782]

778 312 *The springs.* Other meeting grounds for the spirits of people and places are the springs. The major spring, San Nicolás, is located on the southwestern periphery of the town. It provides drinking water and water for irrigating the cultivated lands. A second spring, called Pahaltón, lies closer to the village and provides a smaller stream of water directed into the canals irrigating the fields of the center. Some say the spirit of San Nicolás is a small Ladino boy; others say he is a man. The spirit of Pahaltón is a female non-Indian, or *Ladina*. The spirits of these waters are able to effect miraculous cures for patients who have lost their souls or those who are of two hearts because of upset social relations in the home. Male patients are brought to San Nicolás and female patients are brought to Pahaltón to seek a miracle. In the curing ceremony an arch of flowers entwined in pine boughs is constructed as closely as possible to the spring

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7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

The action of the Ejido Commission of the town reveals the knowledge of how to manipulate political and economic power. By sending the 200-peso bribe, they were able to block the independence movement before the leadership had arrived. The extreme tactics used by the independence leaders in killing their opponents approximates the kind of political homicide characteristic of the central plateau (Friedrich 1962). The Indians of the center have been able to maintain their ejido grants intact. However, the political discrimination against residents of both colonias and barrios—no resident of either (except for the Huistecan mentioned above) has been elected president, and they never serve in any post higher than that of assistant judge—will undoubtedly lead to further unrest as the populations expand.

Bureaucratic inefficiency and corruption minimize the potential effectiveness of the ejido organization at local, state, and national levels. Projects undertaken by the national government lose their effectiveness when they are promoted by fraudulent claims, taking advantage of the presumed illiteracy and ignorance of the peasantry. The following case illustrates both the tactics of the ejido agents and the countertactics of the local Indians, resulting in a stalemate in the development projects planned and projected at the national level.

In August, two years ago, the Ejido Bank agents came to town with an offer to lend money on crops. We didn't want to borrow it, but Francisco, carbrón! [*then president of the town*], *said we should do it. "Good," we said. We accepted their terms. They said, "We will give fertilizer. It won't cost you a cent. We have tried it. It will give a good crop. We will give you money every six months, and you will pay the interest of nine percent. We will pay for all the costs. It won't cost you anything for the fertilizer."*

In six months, when the bank agents came to get the interest, they charged us six hundred pesos for the fertilizer. We did not want to receive the second load of fertilizer. We presented our case to the Jefe *and told him, "Why did you say it would not cost anything?" He replied, "No,* muchacho [*boy*], *I told you* [*using the familiar form* te dije] *that the fertilizer is going to cost."*

We used seven bags of fertilizer on each hectare for which they charged

us 65 pesos per bag. It was the first time we had used it and we had very good crops. We got together and decided not to pay for the fertilizer. We called the bank agents and requested that we be relieved of the charge because the crops had failed. We showed him a milpa which is a low plot that is too wet for a good crop. We just throw the seed there but don't work on it because it isn't worth the trouble.

We went to a lawyer in Tuxtla. He told us the bank would have to pay for the fertilizer since they had promised it. The lawyer is the helper of the campesinos [*poor farmers*].

Several points of significance can be noted in this case: (1) the Indians are reluctant to take credit risks because of unfortunate experiences in the past; (2) they react to deception with their own deceptions, showing the engineer the land which had not only not been fertilized but had never been weeded or cared for; and (3) they seek professional legal aid in dealing with government agents in order to equalize the contest in which they feel disadvantaged. These first two behavioral syndromes are culturally conditioned responses; the third represents an innovation. By seeking professional aid for which they pay a fee, the Indians are breaking the monopoly of power held by the caciques to whom they were formerly bound in a network of personal obligations incurred in such transactions.

Recent colonization of national lands since the 1950s has introduced a new kind of ejido settlement. Since most of the lands contiguous to settled towns were absorbed in the early days of the ejido grant, movement has been into lands outside the domain of established centers. This spontaneous colonization of unexploited land has followed the penetration of new highways in Quintana Roo, Campeche, Chiapas, Tabasco, and Vera Cruz (de la Peña 1951:348). In defense of their rights to the new lands, the colonists, often of diverse origins, develop a political consciousness. Mestizos and Indians of different towns work together in securing official ejido status for their lands. Acculturation to the national language and ways of life is much greater in these mixed centers than in the settled populations that were part of the original ejido tracts. Consciousness of their rights under national law and independence from traditional loyalties means that these new settlements may be the basis for welding Indians into the na-

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usual, and seeing the pesos, picked them up. The "spirit of the money" left the village forever. The story reveals not only the sense of deprivation Indians feel in losing wealth to Ladinos (historically land the Indians had lost through fraud or legal trickery during the Porfirio Diaz period), but also their realization of their own responsibility for letting their assets slip out of their control.

Payment of interest on money borrowed is justified in the calculations of the Indians for loans made within as well as outside of the community. Interest, called *shol tak'in*, or "head" of money, makes it possible for the borrower to work, and thus to earn, so the "owner" has the right to charge for the use. The rate on loans made within the pueblo has risen from 2 or 3 pesos a month for 100 pesos to 5 pesos, thus equalizing the rate with that charged in the neighboring Ladino town. The same rate is applied between relatives as nonkin. The advantage of intracommunity borrowing is that the lender does not demand an immediate return, or as high security. Ladinos of the neighboring town tend to demand items of greater value than the debt held as security—one Ladino held title to land worth 1,000 pesos for a 50-peso debt, and threatened to foreclose. Within the pueblo, security of about the same value as the loan is asked except in the case of neighbors and relatives who can be reminded every day of the debt. And they are.

Markets. In marketing, the Indians of Tzo'ontahal have neither extended nor gained control over the selling and buying operations that have been pursued since before the opening of the Pan-American Highway in 1955. The pottery which is produced locally was formerly carried on horseback to the smaller towns within a radius of fifty miles. The pottery was marketed directly by the men of the household which produced it, with no specialization in trading by commercial travelers, as had happened in the Zapotec and other areas of Mexico. Since the penetration of the Pan-American Highway, the men take the pottery produced in their households by bus or on the trucks to either San Cristóbal or Comitán. This tends to polarize trading operations and dry up the traffic into small towns not connected by the highway. As a result, the wholesale trade in San Cristóbal and Comitán has increased in the past decade, with dealers

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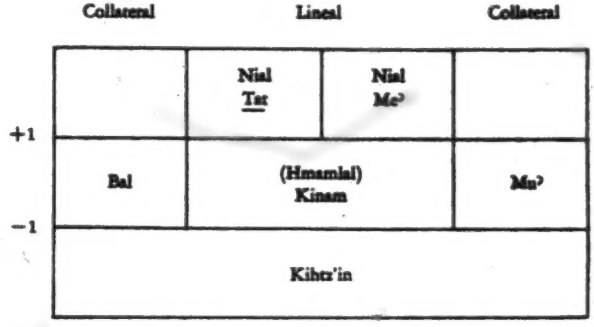
601 wife, and wife's sister with the term *mu?*. This same term is used by women to refer to sister's husband, and to husband's brother. Men refer to sister's husband, wife's brother and wife's parents' brothers as *b'al*, while women refer to brother's wife and husband's sister as *ha?wan*. The rule is that siblings-in-law of opposite sex of speaker are classified as mu? and siblings-in-law of same sex as speaker are differentiated by sex of speaker so that men classify them as b'al and women classify them as ha?wan. Parents-in-law are referred to as *tat ni?al* and *me? ni?al* and called father and mother. Wives of sons and brothers' sons are referred to as *ḳalib'* by men.

Fig. 4. Kinship Terms for Affinal Relatives



Underlined term is vocative.

Affinal terminology is not applied to spouses of parents' siblings; the terms for father and mother or elder sister and elder brother, depending on their age relative to ego, are extended to them (Fig. 4).

601 796 794 174 592 The term for assistant in a ceremony, *b'alni?al*, using the combined terms for ego's generation and parental generation in-laws, may indicate that this group formerly served in household ceremonies. They are still called upon for assistance, but nonrelated neighbors and compadres or godchildren may also assist and the same term is applied to all.

571 197 192 Significant reference groups are designated by the Spanish derived terms *yermanotaḳ*, *ḳumparetaḳ*, and *bersinataḳ*. The yermanotak is comprised of siblings, their spouses, and siblings of parents; the term is derived from the Spanish *hermanos;* kumparetak, meaning the ritual co-parents, is a

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term derived from compadres; and bersinatak, meaning the neighbors, is derived from *vecinos*. When informants are asked to summarize who participates in rituals, these three groups are always mentioned. They are not exclusive groupings; neighbors or siblings may be chosen as compadres, in which case the reference and vocative terms for compadres are preferred to any previous terminology. Activation of any of these ties depends on choice and convenience. Proximity of residence is of greater importance in day-to-day exchanges of assistance or visiting than closeness of genealogical tie. Interaction rates have been quantified in an earlier study of the community (J. Nash 1960; 1964).

Another way of referring to the yermanotak is with the plural form of the Indian patronym. Members of the Shunton family would, for example, be called the Shuntonetik. Several Indian surnames are linked to a Spanish patronym. For example, the Shunton, along with Lin, Mai, and Wolto? are linked to the name Lopez. In other Tzeltal and Tzotzil-speaking communities, these Indian surname groups have a greater cohesiveness, and in the recent past held corporate lands which they worked in common, as in Larraínzar (Holland 1963); Oxchuk (Villa Rojas 1947, Siverts 1960) and San Pedro Chenalhó (Guiteras Holmes 1961). In these towns, the Spanish patronym designated a clan marked by exogamy and responsibility of the elders for maintaining social control. In Tzo?ontahal, the tie of descent has given way to an emphasis on collateral links. Exogamy of the Indian name group is the only surviving function of the lineage, and when this has been violated, there are only minor repercussions.

While the Spanish-derived collective terms are restricted to domestic groupings, the Tzeltal collective term for elders, me?iltatil, refers to the three central groups responsible for social control in the community. Derived from the terms for mother, *me?*, and father, *tat*, it is metaphorically extended to include the sponsors in household ceremonies, the curers acting as guardians of their side of the dual division, and the civil officials. Each of the groups is vested with a different level of authority in the community. This is summarized briefly below.

1. Household sponsors: The Spanish institution of ritual godparenthood has been fused with the indigenous system of sponsorship by me?iltatil. When a child is baptized, his god-parents are included as

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608 members of the me?iltatil along with relatives and sometimes neigh-
• 571 bors. They are his sponsors at subsequent life crises—rituals of betrothal, marriage, and death. All of these people become co-parents to each other and to the child's parents. This relationship lasts throughout his and their lifetime. If the marriage bond is threatened, the me?iltatil gather to hear the complaints and try to resolve the problems. When a person dies, his me?iltatil go to his wake to watch over his spirit. He in turn is expected to help in the household of his me?iltatil when they have a ceremony by bringing wood or serving food and drink to guests.

624 2. Civil officials: The civil officials as a group may also be called
561 the me?iltatil; the term has special reference to the judges who represent the ancestors in their judgment of wrongdoers. In their passage through office from lower to higher positions, they are ranked in age-graded sets of junior officials (policemen), senior officials (regidores), and elder officials (judges), with the highest respect in ceremonial occasions accorded to the principales, two men, one from each side of the dual division, selected from those who have served in all offices. Drinking order, marching order, and seating order reflect the age-ordered rank in all ceremonial occasions.

[192] The link between the me?iltatil of the household and the me?iltatil of the civil authority is provided by a group of officials called the *naka-*
571 *wanehetik*. These men are chosen from among bilaterally related
621 relatives, ritual co-parents, and neighbors who have served in office in
602 the church or the town hall and know the prayers. They direct cere-
794 monies in the house at times of baptism, betrothal, death, and when
608 the household head enters a community office. They are the ones who know how the ancestors did things and "watch and see" that all is done in accord with custom. They instruct the new official in the prayers he
[574] must memorize. Their wives direct the preparation of food by the younger women, and one of them may serve as chief woman speaker greeting guests.

621 3. Curers: Curers are similarly ranked according to age and years
756 in practice. The elder curer on each side of the dual division is charged
561 with guarding his side against the intrusion of evil spirits in the form of his own animal spirit. It is in this function of guardianship that the curers are referred to as me?iltatil.

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The me'iltatil is the core institution preserving cultural continuity in the community. The exercise of authority and social control depended on a system of checks and balances in which the ancestors watched over the community, the judges watched over the curers to see that they did not abuse their power, and the curers watched over their side of the dual division to see that no witches or evil spirits caused harm. The validation of power is based on the kinship model of age-authority. The recruitment and functions of each of the three manifestations of this ancestral authority will be discussed in the following chapters on life crisis rituals, curing, and civil government.

The Household and Family

The household unit is a crystallization at a given point in time of consanguineously and affinally related people within a wider kinship matrix. It is the most important structural unit providing for economic cooperation, socialization of the young, and care and sustenance of the aged. It provides the setting and the personnel for the transmission of traditional prayers and ritual procedures of the civil and religious hierarchy. The composition of the unit is constantly changing due to internal changes in the life cycles of its members as well as changes in the wider kinship matrix. The decisions made in response to these changes reveal both traditionally established adjustments to life crises and adaptations to social changes originating outside the family. The kinds of choices made in residence after marriage as well as in inheritance and succession to leadership in the household do not always conform to the cultural formulae for handling them. The exigencies of space, time, economic, and social considerations may outweigh the ideological considerations of what ought to be done.

The formula for the developmental cycle of the household is the following: when a man marries, he lives with his bride's family for one year, working in her father's fields. He then returns to his father's household to live and work with him until his father is too old to manage the work in the field. The father then gives equal shares of his land and animals to each of his children, both male and female. The youngest child, or the last one to get married, remains in the parental house, taking care of the aged

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Compadres, or ritual kin, are the next most important pool from which to draw assistance. The same restrictions on exchanges between actual kin apply to those between ritual kin. The one task which is confined to brothers and not extended to compadres is that of house-building.

Relationships between members of the household are defined by daily work tasks, commensality, sharing a living space, and participation in the same ceremonial events. The same rules which govern behavior in the family are extended to the wider community. The extension of the terms elder brother and elder sister, father and mother, and younger sibling to all of the people in one's own side of the dual division implies a pattern of behavior similar to that of the family. The fundamental equation in social relations is age-respect-deference-prestige.

The bilaterally extended kinship group provides the pattern structuring relations throughout the community. It is a framework allowing wide choice in selecting individuals with whom ceremonial and work relations are contracted. Relative age has superseded generation and descent as the principle governing relationships of authority and respect from the nuclear family to the hierarchy or community officials. These patterns will be traced in other institutions in following chapters.

Chapter 5

Rituals of Life Crisis

571 608 602 The ceremonial occasions marking baptism, betrothal, and death define the network of bilateral relatives, neighbors, and compadres who will guide and help a person throughout his life. These people make up the group called me?iltatil. The constitute a corporate group, but one which is tied to a single transaction. The sense of corporate identity is strengthened by the same group being called upon to act in subsequent household celebrations. But for each set of me?iltatil there is almost always a different membership since the participants are selected for a particular event. The behavior during these ceremonials is marked by formality and replication of a limited number of ceremonial acts. Through this replication, the rituals dramatize continuity with the past and foster a sense of changelessness. The symbolic act establishing the bond is the embrace, called *sme?ispetb'ak*. Within the ritual setting, the child learns whom he can turn to for help and what he is expected to do in his home and community.

[192]

Baptism

852 774 After a month of seclusion when the child is hidden from public view, the soul is expected to have found its place in the child's body. A ceremony called *ki'n ha?* (water ceremony) then takes place with the mother and grandmother in attendance. The three enter the sweatbath, and the mother and child are bathed in hot water and then cold.

[192]

If the child cries frequently, it is suspected that his soul is still not firmly lodged and has been wandering in the streets where it encounters animal spirits that frighten him. This requires a soul-calling ceremony performed

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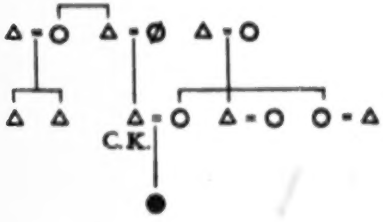
but on other occasions they are as likely to be chosen from among peers of the parents.

The occasions on which the first informant in Table 20 acquired compadres are spelled out in the following diagrams to show the growth of the network of compadrazgo relations in the course of a lifetime.

Compadres of C. K., sixty-five-year-old man. C. K. chose as compadres on the occasion of the baptism of his first child an older man who lived in the same section of town. The diagram shows the composition of the baptismal party. The darkened symbol in this and the following diagrams represents the child baptized.



C. K. addresses all of the guests by the term "compadre" and refers to the group as "kumparetak." The second child has the same padrino, and the same group of relatives attended the ceremony. For the third child, C. K. chose a Ladino shopkeeper from the neighboring town. He chose him because, "I sold wheat to him, and I saw he was honorable." C. K. had a house fiesta to which the shopkeeper came with his wife. This is somewhat unusual and occurred because the compadre was from another town. C. K. chose as the padrino of his fourth child another Ladino he knew in the same town, but the padrino did not attend the house fiesta to which only his sister, her husband, and her husband's brother came. A woman prayer-reciter of the same section was chosen as *madrina* of his fifth and sixth child when C. K. was fiscal. A younger man of the same section was chosen as the padrino of the seventh child. C. K. helped his son select the padrino of a grandson born in his house, a man from the same section.

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TABLE 20. Relationship of Individual to Compadres

Informant's family status	*Occasion*	*Residence of compadre*					*Relationship*		
		Same section	*Opposite section*	*Other barrio*	*Neighboring town*	*Total*	*Relative*	*Non-relative*	*Total*
65-year-old man, wife, 5 grown children	Baptism of godchild	13	5			18		18	18
	Wedding	31				31	12	19	31
	Baptism of own child	3			2	5		5	5
	Total	47	5		2	54	12	42	54
42-year-old man, wife, adopted daughter	Baptism of godchild	12	1			13	2	11	13
	Wedding	13	3	5		21	6	15	21
	Confirmation		2			2		2	2
	Blessing of loudspeaker	2			2	4		2	2
	Total	27	6	5	2	40	8	30	38
35-year-old man, wife, 5 children	Baptism of godchild	7				7	4	3	7
	Baptism of own child	4			1	5		5	5
	Wedding	4				4		4	4
	House saint	2				2	1	1	2
	Total	17			1	18	5	13	18
34-year-old widow	Baptism of godchild	17	1	1		19	15	4	19
	Wedding	7	3			10	2	8	10
	House saint	2	1		1	4	1	3	4
	Confirmation	1				1	1		1
	Total	27	5	1	1	34	19	15	34
	TOTAL	118	16	6	6	146	44	100	144

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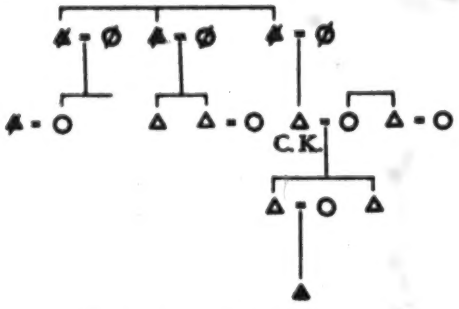
section. Attending this house fiesta was the group of relatives represented in the diagram.



The relatives assembled are essentially the same as those who attended the birth of C. K.'s first child. They are the core of the me?iltatil for his family, a core which expands to include additional compadres and neighbors for special house rituals. The second and third grandchildren had as padrino a man from the opposite section.

In summary, C. K. has chosen four Indian compadres and two Ladino compadres for the baptisms of his own children. Other members of the me?iltatil who became compadres on these occasions include five men and three women who are bilateral and affinal relatives.

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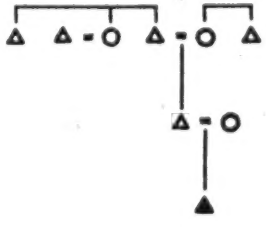
C. K. has been asked to be padrino of baptism by four persons:

1. A neighbor asked him to be padrino of his child. At a small fiesta, he became compadre of the father and godfather of the child.

2. A man from the opposite section asked him to be padrino of his son's child, and he acquired the group of compadres shown in the diagram.

[601]



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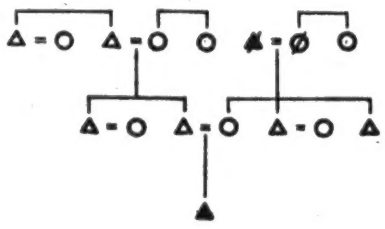
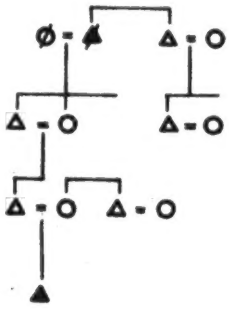
3. A man of the same section asked him to be padrino, and he acquired 6 compadres and 7 comadres.



4. A man of same section asked him to be padrino, and he acquired 5 compadres and 5 comadres.



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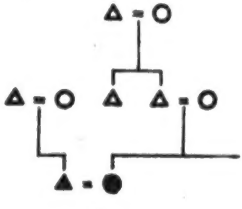
He has been asked to be padrino of marriage ceremonies, also by four parties. The darkneed symbols represent the individuals married.

1. A man of the same section.

[601]



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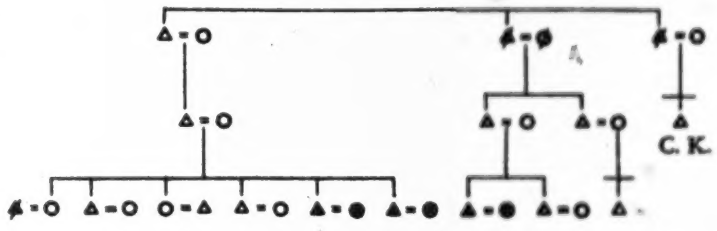
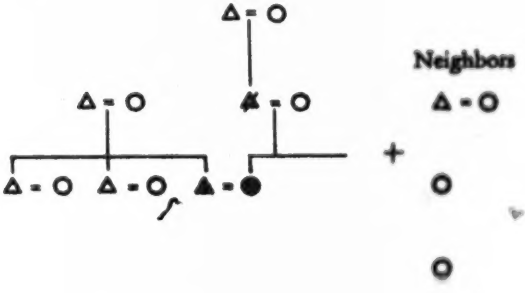
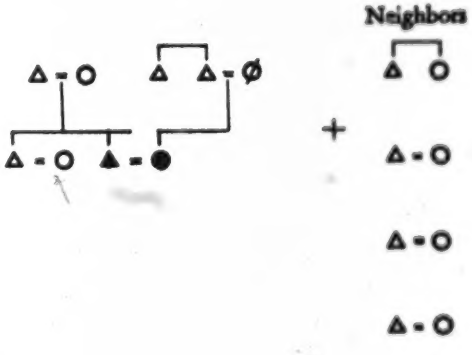
2. The sons of his brother's son.



3. A neighbor's son.



4. A man of the same section.



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In becoming a padrino of baptism and marriage, C. K. has acquired 33 compadres, 31 comadres, 4 godchildren of baptism, and 7 godchildren of marriage, 4 of which are his nephews. Adding to the 6 compadres of baptism for his own children, he has 39 compadres and 37 comadres, a total of 76. Most people by the time they have reached 60 have acquired well over 50 compadres.

The relationship between compadres is one of respect, and the referential and vocative terms, *kumpare* and *kumare*, or compadre and comrade in Spanish, take precedence over any other relationship term. The godchild is expected to bring a load of wood to his padrino's house when the latter has a household ceremonial, and when the godchild is old enough, he will serve as b'alnial, or assistant. All the people who attend the household ceremony following the church baptism become compadres and constitute the kumparetak. Compadres attend each other's household ceremonials, acting as nakawanehetik (attendants who are present at all household ceremonials) or b'alnialetik. Compadrazgo is patterned on a pre-Conquest institution establishing ties between attendants in household rituals called maliwanehetik.

The relationship of protection and guidance that is to characterize the tie between co-parents, godchildren and their godparents for the rest of their lives is symbolized in the behavior formally prescribed in the baptism ceremony. On the day of baptism, the child is dressed in clothing given by his godparents. The parents and grandparents of the child go together with the godparent to the church. While the child is being baptized by the priest, he is held by his godfather if he is a boy, or by her godmother if a girl. The priest throws water and salt on the child and prays over him, baptizing him in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. After the ceremony the participants embrace the child and each other in front of the church, symbolizing the status they now occupy in respect to the child, his grandparents, and parents. Without this performance, the ritual terms of comadre, compadre, or padrino cannot be used.[1]

1. This behavioral definition of the ritual kinship tie in the sme?ispetb'ak is illustrated in the following incident: The wife of a man who had been asked to be a child's godparent was absent when the priest arrived for the ceremony. Her husband went to the church with the parents and grandparents of the child and embraced them at the church steps. Although

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The church ceremony is followed by another ceremony in the house of the child's parents. As the group returning from the church enters the house, they are greeted with the pat'o'tan by the maliwanehetik who are waiting for them in the house. As they enter, each of the returning party says, "You go forward, kumpare." They embrace all of the waiting party, an act which establishes their relationship as compadres with the entire company. When the padrinos leave, the grandparents and parents of the child go to a spot before the eaves outside the house; there the father of the child serves liquor to the padrinos and the grandparents of the child. The drink is called "the finale as the compadres leave." The group must finish the entire liter "since it is a gift," and if there are only one or two grandparents, they may get fairly drunk. As the compadres leave, the grandpaernts say, "Over the soil, over the mud where you take your holy godchild, your holy flower, your holy candle." The child, referred to metaphorically as holy flower, holy candle, is identified with the most sacred symbols of the culture.[2]

The emphasis on the group relationship in Tzo'ontahal contrasts with the form of compadrazgo found in the central plateau of Mexico where the dyadic tie between two compadres provides flexibility in achieving instrumental ends in political or economic life.[3] Some of the new leaders in economic enterprises are beginning to emphasize the dyadic contract in their compadrazgo relationships to achieve political support, but its greatest importance is still based on creating or reinforcing group solidarity.

Betrothal and Marriage

The Indians of Tzo'ontahal are initiated into the community of the living and depart from it with ceremonies deriving from the Spanish colonial culture. The courtship and marriage ceremonies continue indigenous re-

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she later attended the household ceremony, she was never called kumare because of the omission of this act.

2. See Laughlin (1962) on the symbolism of the candle and flower in Zinacantan.

3. In regard to the occasions and the kind of respect relation established, compadrazgo in Tzo'ontahal is similar to the institution in other parts of Mexico (Foster 1963, Nader 1964, Wolf and Mintz 1950). The difference lies in the elaboration of the number of ties acquired through compadrazgo at each event.

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tual practices and are carried on in the home. Sometimes a church and/or civil marriage is held in addition, but the union is not consumated until the traditional home marriage has taken place.

The betrothal, or *č'om*, is an extended series of negotiations in which the boy's representatives plead with the girl's family to accept the suit. Anytime in a boy's late teens or early twenties, he may initiate the suit by speaking to his father, or the father may undertake to find a wife for his son. The parents of the boy then request an older woman who has some skill in speaking the formal speeches to serve as the me? *Č'om*, mother of the betrothal, and an older man to serve as the *statal č'om*, or leader of the betrothal (sometimes he is called mam č'om or grandfather of the betrothal). These intermediaries may or may not be related to the family initiating the request. Nonkin are usually chosen from among compadres or a neighborhood group. When the father requests that they act as intermediaries, he brings a gift of liquor, chocolate, and bread.

Before any negotiations are begun with the girl's family, the boy's family calls together the representatives. These include his grandparents, uncles, and aunts, his padrino of baptism and confirmation, and possibly neighbors or nearby compadres of his parents. The gathering then questions the boy to learn whether his interest in the girl is sincere and exclusive of any other infatuation. In this session, called the *?il' yo?tan* or "taking of the heart," the boy goes to each of his representatives and kneels before them as they question him, asking him if he wants that girl and only that girl. He is told that marriage is an important relationship, not to be treated "as a toy"; the boy should be interested in only this girl, and if he should cause them to have to go to the cabildo "the day after tomorrow," it would cause embarrassment to the entire company.

At the final gathering, called the *?il' rason* or "taking of the understanding," the assembled me?iltatil of both the boy and the girl give the couple further advice. The boy is told what is expected of him in the marriage. It is a minimal statement: he should not leave her tomorrow, he should not beat her, he should bring home corn and beans, and all will be well. The girl is told that she should prepare her husband's meals and be waiting for him in the house when he comes home from work. Respect, called "hearing" and "feeling" (both combined in the verb *I?awayi*), is

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584 there is an increase with each trip. Except for the transfer of money in the
431 last trip, the gift is completely in consumables—chickens, bread, liquor, chocolate, and sugar. With many of the older men becoming teetotalers, soda has become an established part of the gift exchange as well. Two elements of the gift exchange are stable in all marriages—the four chickens each cooked and wrapped in fifteen tortillas with a chile placed inside, and the chocolate. In a traditional exchange system, the quantities of some items of exchange are fixed while those of other items fluctuate; gifts of bread, liquor, and money, for example, are of varying quantity in Tzo?ontahal. The fixed quantities of chicken, chocolate, and tortillas establish conformity to community standards while the fluctuating ones indicate the relative prestige of the family.

Table 21. Relation of Members of Betrothal Party to Gifts

584 431 608 571

Member of the betrothal party	*Time of participation*	*Function*
Mother of the betrothal (Me? č'om)	Initiates action	At first, carries the gift of bread, chocolate, and brown sugar. Burden lightens as others take over these gifts, so that at end she carries only corn gruel and one large piece of bread
Elder of the betrothal (Mam č'om)	On fourth visit, accompanies mother of the betrothal	Carries liquor until Measurer of liquor takes over, then carries only sweetened liquor served to women
Measurer of liquor (P' is ha?)	About seventh visit, accompanies mother and elder of the betrothal when suit is accepted	Carries white liquor served to men and that given as gift
Basket carrier (La smoč, usually wife of P'is ha?)	Accompanies mother and elder of the betrothal and Measurer of liquor when suit is accepted	Carries bread throughout final visits before "taking of the understanding"
Carrier of brown sugar (Č'up ?askah)	On last visit before "taking of the understanding," accompanies mother, elder, measurer, and basket carrier	Carries sweet liquor and soda for last visit and for "taking of the understanding"

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The links between members of the me?iltatil of a couple united in marriage are reinforced if another marriage occurs between the two households. While this does not provide a basis for prescribed or preferred mating, those who have such exchanges say they prefer it because the negotiations in the č'om proceed more amicably, especially in the earlier stage.

Solidarity of the group is reinforced when the me?iltatil are called upon to help settle conflicts that arise in the marriage. The household review of marital conflict requires a formal gathering of all the members of the betrothal party who represented both the husband and the wife. Parents of the couple state the evidence and recite the events which led up to the conflict. The husband or wife may interject, speaking in their own defense. The elders suggest how the person judged guilty (usually the man) ought to behave and what his reponsibilities are. A transcription of one such case is included in Appendix 1A. This concerns a couple who had separated two years after the marriage. The following statement of the padrino of the wedding ceremony, speaking in lieu of the leader of the č'om who could not be present, shows the techniques they use to adjust relations:

Now he [the husband] wants to change for the better. You [speaking to the husband] ought not to drink. It is better to eat meat and vegetables and find corn and beans for your wife and child. Now we have arranged it, and you can take your wife and child to your house.

A successful outcome depends on all people in the dispute accepting the judgment of the elders. If this cannot be achieved, the abused partner seeks redress in the courts. Women are most frequently the plaintiffs. The plaintiff is supported by her parents who appear with her in court and help argue her case. The defendant may appear with his parents, if they support him, but very often they feel shame and do not.

In court cases, two judges hear the evidence and they, along with the president and other civil officials deliver the verdict. The quality of interpersonal relations does not differ much from that which one finds in the household review, as can be seen in comparing the court review included in Appendix 1B with the household review. In the former case, the woman's wrath had been aroused by her husband occasionally returning to his first wife, and by his failure to give her money for expenses. Since he

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593 worked in the sawmill, he was not as willing to hand over his wages to
578 his wife as is the farmer, who according to established custom gives the
608 proceeds from the sale of his crop to his wife. The judges advise the man
571 to stay sober, adding, "If you want a woman, you ought to support her.
692 You shouldn't fight." They entreat the wife to return to her husband's house "and make a fire there." They refuse to release the marriage license, and the woman's father reluctantly agrees. He has the last word, warning the husband: "The day after tomorrow, don't come back here with a couple more children and say, 'I don't want you; go back to your mother's house.' You are lucky to have a wife. If you don't have a wife, you go get drunk every day. But with a wife, life is good. She will give you coffee and corn to eat. Don't go on fighting whether drunk or sober. Both my compadres [referring to the judges] have advised you."

755 The curing ceremony as a means of adjusting interpersonal conflict is
608 discussed at greater length in the following chapter. Padrinos of baptism,
571 compadres, and other members of the patient's me?iltatil attend, both to
578 see that the curer is performing his duties properly and to lend spiritual
182 support. Like the household and court review of conflict, it permits the open airing of grievances and relies on the authority of elders. Drinking
[273] liquor is a means of restoring good feelings, either as a follow-up to the review of court cases or as a continuous measure of goodwill in curing.

182 The responsibility of the me?iltatil for repairing personal relationships
571 in the family underwrites the importance of this institution in the commu-
608 nity. In these institutionalized means of settling conflict the society recog-
578 nizes the inevitability of friction in intimate relations and draws upon the resources of personnel and techniques developed in the life crisis rituals.

182 The me?iltatil are the guardians of individuals. The security that they
156 provide depends upon the individual conforming to the group norms.
608 They are a personal reference group maintaining customary ways of be-
571 having. I shall show in the following chapters how they are linked as the inner core to a system of guardianship provided by curers within each side of the dual division and by civil authorities at the community-wide level.

182 These are the agents who, by providing models of how the progenitors
608 behaved and by channeling responses to social change, maintain the sense
571 of equilibrium and the illusion of changelessness. The sense of continuity

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The sense of continuity with the past is preserved in the ceremonials in which these officials act, but nonceremonial activities no longer reinforce the values symbolized in ritual.

Death and Burial

When a person dies, his soul is believed to go out from his tongue. The family is responsible for finding a resting place which will be satisfactory to the soul. If the dead person has died of a "good" (not caused by witchcraft) illness, the soul lingers for eight days and then goes to heaven. If the dead person has been killed, his soul stays in the village for "a month or twenty days." The reason given for this is that "the gods did not choose the hour of death, and the soul doesn't know where to go." During this waiting period the dead person "finishes his heart," or ends his emotional ties with friends and relatives.

Following the death, a sister of the parents of a child or some other adult woman washes the body and puts a wrap over it. The body is always laid out with the feet toward the door; the eyes are shut, and the jaw is wrapped with a kerchief to hold the mouth closed. Two candles are placed at the head and two at the feet. Flowers and a bowl to collect offerings of 2 pesos from each visitor are placed at the head of the body. The contribution given at the burial assures the giver of a hearing with Christ:

Everyone gives a contribution of 50 cents or a peso. Each one considers how much he can give and gives it. God listens to and speaks to those who give gifts. Those who give a candle or a little contribution of corn or flowers give an account of the dead man's life. If he had no crime on his conscience or only one crime, whoever killed him by violence or by witchcraft bears the guilt. Christ listens to the account of those who have given good contributions. Thus the help is given so that Christ will see that he did a favor to one who is poor and who has nothing to bury himself, not corn, or money, or anything to sell, not land, or cattle, or wheat. Therefore everyone who is a relative or a compadre or a neighbor brings one-fourth [bottle of liquor], a half measure of brown sugar, fifteen or twenty corncobs and one or two candles. And all men who arrive at the grave and

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346 796 782 individuals can visit the saints on their own personal missions. Appendix 3A records the visits of groups and individuals on an ordinary Sunday. Their actions in the church are part of the standardized behavior incumbent upon all those who enter the building.

Communication with the saints is ensured either by touching and kissing their images or, if the images are enclosed in glass cases, by tapping the gl with offerings of money. It is believed that one gains an audience [562] by pay..g for it. When groups larger than individual clusters of visitors enter the church, sexual segregation is observed (for example, when a male child enters with his mother on the occasion of a mass, he remains with her until more people arrive, then leaves her to stand on the male [788] side of the nave). Ritualized wailing is done by women only. After such a [152] demonstration the women show normal composure, since wailing is a standardized mode of communication, not an outburst of uncontrolled emotion. It is private and concerns the individual wailer and the saint to which she appeals; none of the other visitors in the church indicates any sign of response to these displays. Unless there is a focused activity going [794] on, such as a mass or series of baptisms, each visiting group is an autonomous unit, carrying out its own mission.

794 People visit the church most commonly in pairs of two. They congre-
571 gate for mass in a pattern in which women and children enter first, and
562 men, who linger in the plaza until the church is partially filled, enter in clusters and take their places on the male side of the nave. The religious and civil officials enter last, and the mayordomos, whose attendance is one of the obligations of their post, move toward the altar at the front. Men attend church less frequently than do women.

The School

346 621 875 [177] [178] Unlike the church, the school is regarded as an alien structure. Assistance in reconstruction and maintenance is given under pressure rather than voluntarily. Until fairly recently, schoolteachers too remained unintegrated in the community. In the early years of the school's existence, there was a rapid turnover of teachers. The employment of a schoolmaster with a wife and daughters stabilized the position after 1953. The school has be-

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876 den on the teacher already laboring with the barrier in communication. Despite these difficulties, the children manage to learn the basics of read-
[875] ing, writing, arithmetic, and Spanish in four years of schooling. The teachers are devoted and spend at least seven hours in the classroom each day.

872 524 During the recess period the children play individual competitive games except when organized games are introduced by one of the teachers. There is a tendency toward ganging up on weaker individuals in fights, that occur, but I have never seen signs of marked brutality. Since the La-
[563] dino children are a small minority in the school (there are no more than a half a dozen among the three hundred and twenty-four students) the Indian children do not face the discrimination found in schools with a greater proportion of Ladinos (cf. Romney and Romney 1966).

876 Discipline is no longer as strict as it was in the early years of public education. The teacher allows someone who has been hit to hit the aggressor but does not herself intercede. Threat of punishment may be made by the teacher, but I have never seen it carried out, and it is never suggested as a solution to failure to learn.

• 571 561 554 In comparing the domestic, civil, and religious domains of activities, the following features emerge:

1. In each domain, a hierarchy of power is present. In the house,
[592] [562] [621] males take precedence over females, and older members over younger. In the cabildo, the power hierarchy takes the form of a rank order coordinate with age in most of the offices, while in the schoolhouse, power is polarized with all authority vested in the schoolteacher. In the church,
[875] [794] the conflict between the priest and the cofrades (Chapter 9) has not been resolved. Within the ranks of the mayordomos, relationships between the elder and junior mayordomo establish a graded ranking system (Chapter 8).

571 554 576 2. Behavior in each domain is standardized. Relative rank is reflected in seating order, greeting order, and drinking order. Autonomous behavior is most marked in the domain of the church. Focused interaction is predominant in the school, where order and control are based on absorbing the attention of the child in a learning task.

3. Categories of role-bearers sit and act together in all the domains. In the home the me?eletik, the nakawanehetik, and the b'alnialetik have established seats and act in concert. Similarly in the cabildo, four ranks of officials, the principales, judges, regidores, and police, move and act together. In the church, elder and younger mayordomos move in pairs of two.

4. Sexual segregation is present in the home, the church, and the cabildo, but is lacking in the school. This rejection of the community standard for a group situation was the basis for some parents holding their children out of school until coerced by the federal authorities backed by the local officials.

5. Attendance in all domains involves coercion as well as voluntary action. Coercion is most marked in the school, but resistance by the parents to forced attendance and mixing of the sexes is fast wearing down in this domain. In the cabildo, the defendant is required to attend the court hearing and may even be jailed if he does not pay the fines charged against him. Coercion is covert in the home; the lack of alternative housing arrangements makes residence in the household of orientation or of procreation mandatory.

6. Sacred symbols are present in all the domains. The symbols of the cabildo and of the school relate the community to the nation with the national flags and the portraits of the president. The canes of office which are assumed as each official acquires office are symbols of local authority. The universalistic symbols of the church—the saints images, portraits, and banners—are acquired from Catholic orthodoxy, but have been encapsulated with local sentiments and beliefs. Sacred symbols are treated with respect and avoidance, both in the church and the home. The "holy cross" or banners are touched only with sacred embroidered cloths binding the hands of those who carry them. Saints' images are kissed, but as a mark of respect, not intimacy. The Mexican flag, with which less awe is associated, is saluted.

Each of the domains provides a setting for the recognition and validation of authority figures in the community. Values which are communally shared or imposed from outside are formally instilled in these settings. Ex-

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tra-institutional supports are still lacking for the school, which is not yet fully incorporated into the community framework.

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Replication of behavior in all of the institutional domains except the school provides a measure of social integration in the community. Patterned behavior, such as the set speeches of the pat'o'tan, the formalized drinking procedure including the blessing of the drink and the serving of it in accordance with age and authority ranking of the participants, the etiquette of greeting and leave-taking, the embrace signifying ritual guardianship, occurs in the home, the town hall, and the church. These sets of stereotyped behavior, specified according to roles, simplify the movement from one institutional setting to another and contribute to continuity in role performance by the individual. The new patterns of behavior introduced in the school—desegregation of the sexes, competition in performance, grading of achievement—are not modes of behavior which have spread. However, as the skills acquired in school assume greater importance in the community, it is likely that the socializing procedures with which they were transmitted may spread to the home.

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The assumption that leisure is a concept unique to highly civilized societies is denied by peasant behavior in this community and many others like it in which the members are masters of the greater part of their time. What differentiates their scheduling of leisure-time activities from that of most western societies is that theirs is based on community decisions rather than individual predilections and that it is set in the frame of sacred rather than secular performances. Community standards are most notable in the way people dress for fiestas: women wear their newest embroidered blouses; their hair is neatly braided with ribbons. Men wear a kotončʉ with their cleanest shirt and pants. The children, except for the youngest, wear clothes like the adults'. Villagers "care for" the celebration by sitting on their porches, greeting neighbors, smoking and talking. When a public performance is held in the church or plaza, they participate as observers. Arduous work of any kind is proscribed. Special foods are prepared and served at regular mealtimes. A special mark of all days of fiesta is the serving of fermented corn beverage. Meat or chicken is more likely to be served on Sundays and holidays than on other days.

Timing as a Strategy in Interpersonal Relations

The preferred mode of action is "slow and soft." This applies to motion, especially in rituals, as well as to the scheduling of actions in a series of negotiations. The people are sensitive to the use of time in bargaining as an index to the relative resources of the negotiators. Withholding power in the market gives a marked price advantage in the sale of crops. Sale in advance of harvest means a loss of one-quarter to one-half of the price which could be gained if the crop was sold after it was cut, and corn sometimes doubles in value if withheld for six months or more. Interest as a time payment for the use of money is accepted on the basis that the borrower could put it to work. There is no feeling against the evil of usury, although the rates are relatively high in town—five percent per month.

This understanding of time as an indicator of relative strength extends to social functions. Time serves as an interval to build confidence on the part of both parties entering into contractual arrangement. In the betrothal, both parties are prepared for a long series of visits before the suit

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571 805 [584] is accepted. Precipitous action on either side reveals a weakness of which the other party might take advantage, or which might even stop procedures.

Timing of activities is so specific that it can be read as an equation of social relations: People who come to the house after nightfall are either intimate members of the family, or are members of the circle of me?tiktatik invited for a special household celebration—night is the time when spirits wander, not a time for casual visiting. Arrival of the betrothal party at the [584] house of the girl's parents after ten o'clock in the morning indicates that the suit has been accepted.

571 805 554 562 Sequential timing expresses relative prestige and a sense of priority. In "raising" the officials for the official ceremonies, the lowest ranks of officials rise first to go to the house and awaken each of their companions in order of rank. The sequence in serving order has already been discussed with respect to rank and prestige. Another principle of sequence operates at a more subtle level: women go before men when there is expectation of a fight since their presence evokes less hostility. This is evident in the be- [584] trothal: the me? č'om precedes the mam c'om in the initial proceedings [579] when strong resistance and hostility is anticipated. When drunken fights start during house ceremonies, women intercede with calming effect.

641 829 805 Time always is on the side of the Indians when they wish to resist national orders. Verbal agreements to pay fines imposed or to assist federal agents in the capture of criminals are frequently followed by deliberate negligence in carrying out the orders. Usually the order is forgotten or in- [647] terest wanes at a higher level. Government agencies such as the INI learned to bide their time much as the Indians did. Expecting opposition to any proposed change, they waited for the initial reaction to die down, and then proceeded as support from those who benefited overcame internal resistence.

461 464 512 805 When called upon to perform jobs that require regular appointments, the Indians respond easily to the daily scheduling. Resistance comes against scheduled requirements that involve long spans of time and interfere with communal and familial ceremonies. Work away from home is [181] undertaken only on the premise that it will be of limited duration. This control over their own time is a value which Indians will not easily yield.

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These time and space patterns provide the individual with a cognitive structure which enables him to function appropriately in a given setting and to plan his future actions. Having one piece of information, people can derive the other understandings necessary to adjust their own behavior to the expectations of others.

Time as a measure of value has been affected by changes occurring in the past two decades. Men are less willing to expend time in ceremonial activities than formerly. The first ceremony given up was Carnival, which has not been celebrated for over a decade. Most recently, young men have refused to become alfereces, and their resistance on the basis of loss of time and money was formally recognized in 1966 when the institution was abolished. The resistance parents used to show to their children spending, or wasting their time in school has given way as some of the more modernized parents have seen the advantages of education.

The tempo of life has accelerated with the increasing importance of bus and truck transportation to market. Women's time has always figured as importantly as that of the men because of their pottery production, and they have quickly accepted time-saving innovations such as the tortilla press and the corn-grinding mill. They have not shown any inclination to adopt time-saving technology, such as the potter's wheel, in pottery-making since they have no knowledge of it, and using it would require relearning basic tasks.

The ceremonial cycle still provides the major consideration in programming other activities in the community. The Indian as an agriculturalist remains master of his own time, and he plans his work so that he can fulfill his ceremonial obligations.

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programs in the interest of "civilizing" the Indians. This formulation involved a basic contradiction between the goal of moving into regional and national networks and that of keeping the old autonomy and independence of the corporate community. He never had to face that contradiction. Unable to gain adherents other than the small group of profit-sharers in the cooperative he organized, he was killed by opponents within the community.

The Family and Household

The core of the traditional culture lay in the local power hierarchies patterned on the familial model of age-ordered paternal authority institutionalized in the me?iltatil. The me?iltatil of the household have provided a flexible institution for adjusting conflict within the kin group. Their role in directing ritual performances preserves a sense of continuity in life cycle changes.

The institutionalized authority of the elders has not been upset by the trend toward residence based on nuclear families, which is an adjustment to the pressure of limited space in the town center. Kinship ties are continually reinforced by rituals that draw together the me?iltalil as sponsors of ceremonies marking baptism, marriage, and death. This group of sponsoring relatives has absorbed the institution of compadrazgo, adding compadres to the network of affinally-and bilaterally-related kin. The procedures for adjusting conflict among members of the household and extended family networks reinforce the authority of the elders. When adjustive processes in the house and court "arrangements" and in curing ceremonies fail, the only recourse is for one of the disputants to leave the community or commit homicide.

Ceremonies within the household provide a model for the rules of the game that apply to adjustive behavior in the community. The household officials introduce new officials into their role, teaching them the prayers and directing the proceedings. Their authority depends upon age and prestige acquired in office. The me?iltatil, as the elders of the family, are the direct link with the ancestors. They and the nakawane provide the strongest force for preserving the ways of the ancestors.

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Religious Behavior

Socialization of the child includes teaching him how to adjust to spirits of the house and of the surrounding hills and springs as well as to people in his social environment. He learns the obligations he owes to these spirits in the rituals of house inauguration and curing. Place spirits are given an ethnic identity. The ancestor figures who live in the cave are Indians from whom all the people originate. The Ladino spirits residing in the houses and springs are a mythological projection of a conquered people who have learned to coexist with their conquerors by paying tribute of candles, food, liquor, and entertainment. If the spirits are not won over, they will admit the evil spirits who bring sickness and death. Their presence is known only by the trouble they permit rather than by good occurences; the miracles they perform are an undoing of the harm they have permitted.

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The belief in the potentially dangerous nature of these spirits when their envy or appetite is aroused is linked to an understanding that men and gods alike are jealous and vindictive. It generates behavior that is in conformity with that of the ancestors. A sense of security is reinforced by the protective symbols of incense, the cross of palm hung on the entrance posts of the yard and house, candles which "blind the eye of the devil," and garlic mixed with hot herbs which exude an odor that evil spirits dislike. When the uneasy contract between spiritual and human coresidents is upset, a curing ritual is performed to make everyone "of one heart." Behavior with respect to both spirits and people stems from a policy of appeasement through entertainment and liquor provided in household ceremonials.

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Behavior differs in regard to the category of saints called "spirits in the heaven" and those called "spirits in the church." Spirits of the heavens have incorporated pre-Conquest deities with those introduced by the missions. They are a more powerful force influencing human moral behavior. Illicit sexual relations carried out in the milpa by day are believed to arouse the envy of "Our Father the Sun" who will cause the milpa to burn by refusing to give way to rain. Similarly "Our Grandmother the

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Mariano took out cigarettes, and the group relaxed as all lit up the cigarettes and smoked. They discussed my tape recorder as they listened to the tape replayed. When they came to the section that did not record well, they decided that they should take it out and urinate on it. One man suggested that they should put it in prison, and another said that they should shoot it. This provoked general laughter. They went on to discuss the smoking habits of Ladinos. Pablo remarked that Ladino lawyers do nothing but sit in their offices and talk and smoke. Mariano and Victorio's father joked a great deal, the latter maintaining that Pablo had threatened to castrate him. This was picked up by Pablo who said that then Mariano would be a madrina to his godmother, Martina (the woman speaker in the betrothal negotiations). This provoked a great deal of laughter among the women. They then joked with Mariano about Pablo's other madrina, a Ladina from the neighboring town who sells the blood of slaughtered bulls. They refer to her as *me? Skitsoo,* the fat one. Mariano remarked to the women that Victorio's father must be a witch, and someone would try to kill him on the road. The conversation turned from the danger of going alone in the woods to a discussion of hunting. Feliciano bragged that he had an excellent hunting dog which he bought from a Ladino and which he referred to as "the Ladino dog." Mariano asked what Ladino they bought it from, but Feliciano denied knowledge of who the man was. They suggested it was nothing but a Huistecan Indian who changed his clothing. The joking and drinking continued until midnight, when the assembled company finally broke up. The next day Alberta went to live with her husband in the new house he had built.

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B. Court Arrangement of Separation

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Persons present:

Judge
Father of Plaintiff
Mother of Plaintiff
Plaintiff
Husband of Plaintiff
Regidor
President

This case concerns a husband who had been separated from his wife and wished a settlement so that she would return to him. The man had been married before, and he occasionally returned to his first wife. When he got drunk,

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doctors and officers of the National Indian Institute (INI) who arrive to the villages at irregular intervals. In Amatenango, the INI has established a "clinic" in which a native nurse provides some medical services, such as vaccinations, the selling of aspirin, etc., while in Aguacatenango the native INI nurse provides services in his home.

T 621 647 474

In both the villages the INI has established a cooperative store which sells staples which are not produced in the community, but such stores are in no sense agents of cultural change, selling only commodities which the Indians habitually buy elsewhere. (A reason for the lack of success of such stores is that the Indians have not understood the "cooperative" principle, very few men have joined, and they are disillusioned with the marginal profit obtained through them.) In 1958, Amatenango had water piped into the village, a project completed by the INI in 1957; while after the author left Aguacatenango in 1958, water pipes were installed there.

T 621 647 312 114

M 563 692

Political relations with the Ladinos of a more formal nature occur through the courts of justice and national government offices, and they are characterized by the covert (and at times open) hostility and misunderstanding on the part of both Indians and Ladinos (see D. Metzger, 1956 and Fuente, Julio de la, 1958).

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Relations with other Indian villages are common both for Amatenango and Aguacatenango. They trade with the communities located in different ecological zones the products that do not grow in their territory (ocote from the highlands, sugar cane from the lowlands, etc.) in exchange for their own products and they

628 438 establish with them the relations of posada and compadrazgo, men- 571 tioned above, as well as (in the infrequent cases of inter-com- 608 munity marriage), some affinal kinship ties. In the few recorded 582 cases of emigration from the village, some members of the com- 628 166 munity keep communication with a few consanguineal relatives living 602 in other Indian villages, although social exchanges and the memory of such relatives tend to die out after a generation or two.

105 With the other Indian communities in the area, Amatenango and Aguacatenango share a common material culture and belief system, derived from a Highland Maya cultural tradition, the same linguistic background, and a subsistence pattern based on agriculture. They are peasant, in the sense that they are rural villages which depend, for survival, not only on agricultural work, but on economic exchange with other semi-urban and urban centers (Redfield, 1956:25-28).

438 Aguacatenango buys pottery and chayotes from Amatenango, [273] whose women come periodically to sell them, and trago (drinking alcohol) which some Amatenangueros produce illegally. Amatenango buys from Aguacatenango surplus corn.

628 The two towns have amicable relations, thinking of each [311] other as neighbors, and sharing the same pasture lands, and [312] source of water for irrigation. The two communities share the 628 same cultural hero, called Juan Lopez in Aguacatenango and Lopez 766 Shuntón in Amatenango, connected with the corn and with the "lightening who lives in a cave." For Aguacatenangueros this personage is the builder of the roads, responsible for the eradication of "cannibalism," the conversion of man-hunting animals

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER III

THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AT THE VILLAGE LEVEL

Introduction

128 For the purpose of describing the social structure of the two communities compared on this paper, they will be treated at two levels. The level of the macro-structure contains the total community and the community territorial divisions (the barrios); the micro-structural level contains the household, the descent groups, and the informal territorial groupings or neighborhoods.

[621] [184] The main justification for this division of the material is that the macro-structure of the two communities is extremely similar, and there will be very few axes of contrasting comparisons to be found at this level, while the micro-structure is the level at which the most important differences between the two communities discussed in this paper are found.

A second justification is that the definition of roles at one level is separated from the definition of roles at the other level.

128 • 571 The roles at the macro-structure level are role dyads which include, on the one hand, the individual in the role of a community member, and on the other, any person representing the community at large. The roles at the micro-structure level are

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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128 pairs of individual roles, highly intense in interaction and
571 performed by people who are tied to each other by many clearly defined and extensive rights and duties. (D. Metzger [1960] defines them as highly relational versus lowly relational roles.) The roles at the micro-structural level form one net, and the quality of the joint performance of the individual, of all the roles which belong to him within this net define him as a good or bad person; the roles at the macro-structural level form a separate independent net which defines the individual as a good or bad community member.

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571 For example, a man can spend his household money in long drinking sessions, and while drunk fight with his brother or beat his wife, which will make him a bad brother and husband. But if he shares the liquor he drinks with other men in his barrio (town division), the same activity will define him as a good neighbor, who is neither selfish nor a miser, but willing to share his
[626] profits with other men. On the other hand, a man may refuse to pay his limosna to the Church, risk the community gossip and threats of witchcraft, but this would not make him a less respected father, nor influence the relationship with his wife.

361 The Physical Setting of the Villages

The towns are geographically compact, nucleated communities, as opposed to the vacant-town (and ceremonial center) described first by Tax (1937). The town streets form a grid pattern, more symmetrical in the center than at the edges where streets tend to curve following the accidents of the terrain.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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626 754 784 Therefore, the threat of supernatural sanction is powerful as a communal weapon against social deviation.

621 We can see, then, that the structural dynamics of village life are composed of opposing forces. On the one hand, there is a tendency toward egalitarianism which is expressed in the formal organization of political power and the economic life of the village as a unit. On the other hand, there is a tendency toward deviation from the economic norms which is repressed and expressed in the belief system and the sanctioning of deviants. (Obviously, if people would not tend to deviate from the egalitarian norm, witchcraft "specialization" would not be necessary!)

121 There is no society in the world which does not possess criteria for social differentiation. Some criteria are, by nature, universal: the basic biological differences between persons (age, sex) or psychological skills (intelligence, mental deficiency). Some other criteria are culturally determined (age-grade, class, wealth and so on). Even among societies in which the life conditions preclude social stratification, such as the Sirionó, some few cultural criteria of individual social differentiation are always present. When I suggest that Amatenango and
621 571 Aguacatenango tend to be communities which reinforce homogeneity at the economic, political, and cultural levels, I am far from
[576] indicating that individuals are not evaluated differentially. In every social situation, even meeting on the street, Amatenangueros and Aguacatecos make social distinctions and determine their relative position with respect to each other: one would call a

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571 man bankil (respect term, "elder brother") the other would be his
576 kiht'zin ("younger brother").

621 Older men are socially superior to younger ones. A man
561 who has passed many cargos has more authority than one who has not
554 served in the community government. A man with many children in a united family commands more respect than a man whose children are embarrassed of him because he is a trouble-maker. A good
562 talker is better thought of than a boring drunkard. The same dif-
561 ferentiation scale, although using some other criteria, also func-
626 tions for women. Elder ladies have enough social status to be permitted to laugh in public while young married wives are expected to keep quiet. A woman known as a "good mother-in-law" collects the rewards of praise of other women. A wife who keeps her husband clean and well fed can visit around and be well received, while a lazy housekeeper would not be welcomed in other women's houses who fear of being judged "by the company they keep."

554 A constellation of factors, therefore, places the indi-
555 vidual in a very particular status position, and his personal
156 skill can increase his prestige or destroy it. Moreover, the
621 total performance of an individual in the totality of his roles
571 can not only increase his general status and gain the approval of his fellow men, but would be an important factor in saving him from witchcraft accusations. A man can try to control as much labor and capital as possible in order to maximize profits from his work and minimize its consumption, as long as he does not create enemies, and insures his prestige in as many dimensions as possible: he can give advice to conflicting parties rather than

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[426]
[155]
[476]
[431]
[608]

getting involved in the fight. He can help relatives in distress pay a debt or give a curing ceremony for a sick child. He can be a "hard worker, ready to offer a hand to a neighbor in need of extra labor" (hel-K'abal). He can send his wife with small presents of food to other households. He can make many compadres among those whom he suspects of possibly being against him, thereby assuring their friendship and respect. In sum, he can create around himself a long chain of loyal villagers who are bound to him by many different obligations. Then, because he is a 'leKil winiK' (one that behaves well with the people), he can "afford" to become rich by local standards without the immediate fear of punishment.

Every household head manipulates his environment in these terms. People try to accumulate riches and protect their paths in other ways. They also try to avoid distributing their accumulated wealth outside their household and to prevent the envy or gossip of those not so bound by loyalty, by hiding from others the knowledge of their possessions.

The result of the contradiction between the egalitarian values on the one hand, and the individual aspirations and behavior on the other, is expressed in gossip, "witchcraft talk" and a constant realignment of loyalties among villagers. Every man suspects another of being better off than one is led to believe, while at the same time he himself tries to keep others from suspecting him, and would not voluntarily give information on how many horses he owns or how much corn he has grown.

The picture of life in Amatenango and Aguacatenango is

882 562 584 session in Church). Water carrying is associated with courting, and the bachelors stay around the paths that connect the houses of their sweethearts with the well to which they go to fetch water, expecting to receive some indication of acceptance on their part, and if they are literate, to hand them a love letter. Girls, on these occasions, are expected to behave modestly and to be embarrassed. If not, they are usually judged as alocadas (lightheaded) and not fit for marriage.

156 571 The concept of tener su compañía runs throughout all activity, at all ages. Having company means protection from the supernatural on a long trip, help around the house, harmonious social relations with age mates and kinsmen, and insurance against loneliness. Older women who are left alone in a house for several days will "borrow" a younger girl, a son's daughter for example, to keep them company, and a young wife going to market or to get firewood is usually expected to find company to do so. If not, [1153] she can well meet a strange man on the road, and get sick from verguenza (sickness assumed to originate from shame at being placed in an anomalous or embarrassing social situation) or espanto (fear and soul loss).

882 562 [868] Boys (kerem and tek' el) do not have as many restrictions of behavior or of movement as girls after puberty, but they are also expected to have their company. They start working with their fathers around the age of ten, depending on their physical strength, but in the beginning, it is not a serious occupation.

883 562 573 As soon as they become regular workers, they spend their free time with other bachelors and form a compañía or escuadrilla

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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CHAPTER VI

THE HOUSEHOLD

Definition

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591 The life of the people of Amatenango and Aguacatenango can be seen as extending in overlapping circles which have a social as well as spatial dimension.

592 The most important of these circles is the domestic group. The domestic group, or independent household, is the basic unit of the social organization, and is the core of the economic, political, and moral life of the villager.

The households are economically independent units, the basic unit that controls production and consumption for the village, and therefore, the primary unit for the recruitment of labor. It is within the household that young community members are socialized. It is the place where adults find the primary focus of social activity and interaction, their most enduring and important emotional ties, and the center of their cultural values. As a child, a person learns work from the other people of the same sex who live in his domestic unit. As an adult, he shares with them his labor, his wealth, his worries and his moments of pleasure. In a sense, all that is important for the individual in his lifetime is centered in his household. There, most of his

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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351 592 571 When the people in two adjacent sitios have close social ties, they open an interior gate in the common fence, connecting the two yards. June Nash has noticed that if any disagreement [578] occurs between the people residing in the two contiguous sitios, the interior gates are barricaded even more strongly than the remainder of the fence, symbolically severing social communication (Nash, J: 1959).

351 592 Inside the sitios, there are several areas of activity [343] [342] (see Fig. 10): the front yard (ti?naie) where animals are tied when brought to the sitio, where corn is put to dry, etc., and where there are buildings (hna) such as the cook-house and others [241] which serve as sleeping quarters. The back yard is the place where things are stored and where a small garden is cultivated. [415] There are other spots, such as the place for the water jugs, the [252] place for washing the mixtamal (corn mesh used for making tortillas), [343] the sweat bath, etc.

342 The buildings themselves are mainly wattle and daub with thatch or palm roofs in the traditional Mayan pattern. There is, nevertheless, some variation in the use of cane, shingles and planks for walls, or tile roofs, which indicates a desire to imitate ladino ways rather than the wealth of the household. The houses have small porches which serve as "living room," places for receiving visitors, grooming, cleaning corn, or enjoying the twilight after a good day's work (see Figs. 10 and 11).

House Ritual

342 592 The building of a new house is an important social event

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 109]

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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342 which usually indicates the emergence of a new domestic group.
592 Its social importance is related to several factors.

342 When the young couple build their first separate house,
59 this symbolizes their right to become a separate domestic group.
592 It means that they have lived together long enough to raise one or more children past the age of weaning, and that they have become economically and jurally independent of their parents.

342 (See later discussion on residence.) The building itself is a
156 material display of a man's good social relations. Although
571 house size does not correlate with the number of people living in it, the villagers think that a house "talks" about its owners. A very small house tells the villagers that it is a "drunk-man house" because his owner spends all his money on liquor and cannot buy materials for building a better place. The house also tells of the amount of industrious effort that a man and his family are able to put into its construction, and it tells about how much his relatives and neighbors are willing to "loan hands" to him (help for house building is not paid for in money, but in [177] reciprocal labor). A house is also a good indicator of how much "ladino influence" its owner has assimilated. Houses with ladino influence would have internal divisions in the rooms, windows, painted walls and/or tile roofs. (This type of house is not common, as can be seen in Fig. 12 and Table 5.)

342 The building of a house is followed by a "house warming"
[527] ceremony, in which offerings to the Mother-Earth or Saintly Earth
[182] and the house are buried under the floor. The ritual preparation of a new home is part of a complex ideological identification between people and their homestead.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 111]

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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TABLE 5

HOUSE TYPES IN AMATENANGO[a]

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Type	Cases	Per Cent
Roof		
Tile	1	1
Shingle	28	24
Thatch	87	75
Wall		
Wattle-and-daub	97	84
Rough Boards	19	16

[a]After Nash, J.: 1959.

342 Houses are a part of the family. They are considered as being alive (they grow old, just as people do) and watching the behavior of humans, toward whom they are somewhat unfriendly. If they are displeased with the behavior of the inhabitants, they can bring nightmares to the adults, death to the children and other misfortunes. Calixta Guiteras-Holmes (1960) has suggested that houses are ideologically connected with the earth, whom one has to please if crops are going to grow steadily, and to the monte (forested hills), where the wood for its construction is gathered. [1118] Thus, because the monte is the residence of the evil spirits, enemies of mankind. the house is a projection of this malevolent world.

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Even more significant is the house ritual connected with the sickness of a person who lives in it. It is significant

because sickness is considered a supernatural expression of disturbed social relations, and this is considered disruptive, not only for the people who inhabit a single dwelling, but also for the building which symbolizes their common residence and interests. As long as the relations of people living in a house are harmonious, the house is kept contented. But if this is not so, both the people and the building have to be ritually cleaned. For example, if a daughter disobeys her mother, she is considered to be suffering from bilis or cólico, and in need of curing. During the curing ceremony, the sick misbehaver has to be instructed about her duties as a good daughter, and is given a speech apropos the misdemeanor. The curing ceremony is not completed if the house is not ritually cured, too. This is done by a curer offering the building some trago, the local brew, asking it to be contented. This offering is then symbolic of both the re-establishment of normal social relations between the individuals living in the house, and between the individuals and their material projection, their house.

The people living in a household are in charge of performing some other rituals which are expected to insure the welfare of the whole group.

A small altar, usually made of a pine table, is kept in the house. It is covered with Catholic Saints' images and printed religious calendars. The table also contains all kinds of other things: petty cash (which is kept there for small purchases), double corncobs (which are "lucky pieces") or unusually colored maize, and any other oddity found by the household members, such

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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127 every Chiapas Highland community, including some highly accul-
611 turated towns such as Venustiano Carranza (McQuown et al., 1959).

128 Amatenango and Aguacatenango both have patrilineally in-
611 herited name groups and other slight indications of the previously hypothesized patrilineal "bent" (e.g., bride-price). Our problem, however, is not to reconstruct a hypothetical past, nor to assess the possibility of a change from patrilineal to something else. In this study, the discussion of the name groups will be carried on in the context of their functions, if any, at the present time.

Functions

If the theory of functional correlations between residence, kinship terminology, marriage customs, exogamy, etc., has any validity, we would suspect that Amatenango, with a domestic group organized along bilateral lines and matri-uxorilocal and viri-patrilocal residence having equal incidence, would not have unilineal descent groups, while Aguacatenango, with patri-virilocal residence and a domestic group organized around a core of agnatically related males would have preserved or have now (if it ever had, a fact which at the present we cannot emphatically support), an organization based on agnatic lineages, or it will show some aspects of a lineal organization outside the realm of the domestic unit.

• 591 In Amatenango, as suspected, the name groups "are not now
[613] functioning units in the social organization, neither on marriage, inheritance or social control" (Nash, J., 1960:5). Work activities, rituals, participation in community-wide sodality groups or festivities, compadrazgo ties, etc., are carried on by the household

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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571 and outside the household by the bilateral group of kinsmen of each particular Ego and his or her spouse, which because of the residence pattern, live localized within a neighborhood.

602 592 562 In Aguacatenango, on the contrary, most important activities are carried on mainly by agnatically related kin. This, of course, does not mean that matri-kin or affinals are absolutely excluded. But in making decisions for giving or receiving help in work, for example, agnatic kin are preferred, especially for men, because women tend to collaborate mostly with the agnatic kin of their husbands. The reason for this is that activities for women are not determined in terms of the kinship lines, but in terms of household membership: they collaborate with the closest kin of the household in which they reside, and not their own closest kin. A household contributes labor and interacts more often with agnatically linked households than any other.

361 602 592 The reason for this difference in emphasis could be said to be a result of the fact that one collaborates more with the people who live the closest. After all, the neighborhood in Aguacatenango tends to be a cluster of agnatically related households. [114] Nash felt that in Amatenango, "because of propinquity alone certain (kinship) relations are emphasized over others" (Nash, J., 1960:130). We disagree with this statement.

323 241 433 182 59 592 62 In Amatenango, pottery making and corn agriculture are the two principal productive enterprises which affect the organization of the domestic group, including the residence choices, so it is not strange that the neighborhood group (or residence clusters within the barrio), made up according to the criteria of selecting

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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Aguacatenango

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSIONS

42 43 182 571 184 241 323 434 We can safely arrive at the conclusion that some aspects of the economic system play a very important part in the structuring of social relations in the Chiapas communities. The economic factors which are indicated by the natives themselves and have been assessed by us as being crucial correlates of certain patterns of social behavior are:

(1) The unspecialized agricultural system of one village (Aguacatenango) versus the system of agriculture plus pottery production in the other makes the second one a "richer" town with less wealth fluctuation from year to year.

184 182 462 592 562 434 (2) The relative importance of women as bread-winners and producers in the traditional division of labor in one village (Amatenango), results in the fact that labor of women is crucial for the continuity of the domestic group, whereas in Aguacatenango, it is not. This does not mean that Aguacatenango women do not work. It just means that women's work in Aguacatenango, however exhausting, does not have a market in which it can be sold, and it cannot be transformed into subsistence goods or into money, i.e., it has an undeterminate marginal value. This gives the women in one village (Amatenango) economic independence and a higher status

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

184 (4) The reciprocal financial obligations between parents
182 and children in Amatenango, and between parents and sons in Agua-
428 catenango, to support each other at different stages of the de-
593 velopmental cycle of their respective domestic groups affect the rule of ultimogeniture.

184 (5) The relative wealth of the natal domestic group of
182 the spouse, measured by the amount of land controlled by the unit
582 affects (a) the choice of marriage partner, and (b) the residence
591 of the newly married couple. In Aguacatenango, where residence
556 is normatively patri-virilocal, parents try to marry their daughters within the same economic level of their own households. In Amatenango, marriages occur across wealth lines, and the couple reside with the parents of the spouse who are better off.

184 (6) The relative importance of men versus female co-
182 operative work groups, and/or the difference in structuring of
462 work groups affects (a) the sibling bond; (b) the mother-daughter
476 bond; and (c) the mother-in-law-daughter-in-law bond.
593
[606] In Aguacatenango, where only men form cooperative work groups, the brother-brother bond is stronger than the sister-sister bond or the brother-sister bond.

In Amatenango, where both males and females form cooperative
[607] work groups, the multilateral sibling bond is reinforced to the point of including siblings-in-law.

184 In Aguacatenango, economic rivalry between siblings tends
593 to disrupt the brother bond with constant conflict. Thus, relation-
598 ships are more vertically oriented which is consistent with the
591 presence of agnatic descent lines (in Amatenango, generational
[613]

184 593 518 591 613 solidarity is stronger than cross-generational solidarity), but generational conflict tends to disrupt the collateral extension of patriline growth, making every patriline segment a shallow descent group containing few generations in depth, and only few collaterals.

184 361 592 476 (7) Territorial propinquity between households in each village follows the social propinquity established in terms of economic reciprocity and work interaction. Thus, in Amatenango residence for individuals, interaction between households and the settlement of a neighborhood follow a bilateral pattern, while in Aguacatenango the three follow the male and agnatic line. The type of economic organization, based on the domestic group, correlates with the type of domestic group formed thereof.

184 59 428 562 The domestic group in Aguacatenango, with an internal economy based on the cooperative work of father and son and the transmission of property in the male line, is a kinship unit built around a core of agnatically related males with patri-virilocal residence. Among the Aguacatecos, at least one son of the nuclear family remains in the parents' household after marriage. All other children marry and move out, the sons staying close to the father. In this way, the family continues through time, from one generation to the next, as a perennial corporate group of agnatic order, which extends itself in space as a patrilocally localized agnatic line, and perpetuates itself, in time, through the principle of agnatic ultimogeniture.

The domestic group in Amatenango, with an internal economy based on the cooperative work of both a father and son, a mother

184 621 591 women tend to stay within the neighborhood in which they are born, or, equally, cross territorial lines at marriage.

121 591 To be able to derive these simple rules of residence, we had to take into account some aspects of sponsorship which Fischer did not include in his typology. First, Fischer makes the error of assuming that people make residence choices mainly in terms of kinship, and within kinship, in terms of lineage and lineage sponsors.

We have shown that people make residence choices in terms of both kinship links and economic interdependence, and that among kinsmen, unilinearity is not necessarily the basic criterion for 121 choice. Although Fischer's typology can be very useful in analyzing 128 602 groups in which linearity is strong, such as Aguacatenango, it tends to obscure the analysis of more bilateral groups such as Amatenango.

128 602 591 562 561 571 To make up for this bias in the taxonomy, we had to add three separate criteria for sponsorship: (1) the sex of the sponsor, independently of his lineage affiliation; (2) the generation of the sponsor; (3) the economic role of the sponsor, independently of his or her sex, and independently of his or her kinship connection with the person being sponsored.

184 591 592 At any given time, an individual in Aguacatenango or Amatenango resides in one and only one household, and derives his rights of membership in the unit through kinship or marriage, depending on the importance of his position as a laborer. While in Aguacatenango men derive their membership, as a rule, through descent and women after marriage only through affinality, in

184 Amatenango both men and women derive their rights to reside in
59
592 particular homesteads through both marriage or birth, as alternate choices.

592 The economic system in itself is not an independent vari-
591 able. Given its present shape, decisions about where to live,
571
181 changes in the composition of the domestic group at crucial points
602 in its development, and the strength of emotional ties between individuals are influenced by it. Most choices which concern the structuring of internal relations within the domestic unit are expressed by the cultural carriers as economic and kinship choices simultaneously, or in other words, as economic choices made within the framework offered by the kinship structure of the domestic unit.

Other factors, however, seem to perform no less important functions. Among these other factors, we have mentioned the following in separate parts of the previous text: (1) the position of the person within the kinship group which forms the core of the household; (2) the number of men and women residing in the unit; (3) the age of the household membership; (4) the temperament and attitudes of the household members with respect to each other; (5) the aspirations of the individual, in terms of the achievement of status, the insurance of positive affection and the need for psychological rewards; and (6) the laws of group interaction.

571 In order of intensity, the economic domain affects (1) the
592
621 individual's status within the family; (2) the membership and organization of the domestic group, both in terms of residence choices and the distribution of authority within the unit; (3) the

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

571 592 [621] developmental cycle of the domestic group; (4) the relations of households within a neighborhood and within the more inclusive kinship groups; (5) the relative strength of the patriline versus the bilateral group; (6) the functions of the larger territorial endogamous divisions or barrios; and (7) the total community.

[184] Except for the importance of barrio land tenure in Aguacatenango, and general higher wealth of Amatenango as a whole, the system of production does not seem to affect the structuring of relationships at a level higher than the household and the particular type of rights and duties of members of the extended family of each village.

184 562 The position of women for the village at large is very similar in the two communities. Except for the fact that Amatenango women have the economic power and the legal right to take cases to the Ayuntamiento on their own, neither the women of Aguacatenango nor of Amatenango has rights to political officership, nor to roles outside the domestic domain, which, once more, confirms the anthropological truth that whatever the descent system, or the economic organization, jural authority is ultimately vested in the hands of the males of a society.

182 571 602 Economic factors are not the only factors affecting the interpersonal relations of the villagers. The economic structure is a given historical and cultural fact. Many choices of behavior, which are economic choices in their immediate context, are not so in terms of the long range view of the system. First, the kinship system seems to limit the range of economic alternatives for the individual, independently of the fact that choices

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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based on non-kinship terms would maximize profit or material benefits, which the kinship frame limits considerably. Second, the cultural norms imposed on the villager about the types of work which he is allowed to perform, about the maximum wealth which he is able to control, and about the distribution of this wealth, are, from a purely financial point of view, "anti-economical." But an Indian living in a Ladino town, undoubtedly having the choice of improving his life from an economic point of view, alienates himself from everything which is dear to him. An Indian attempting to live up to his aspirations of wealth within the community, alienates himself even more, and risks the dangers of witchcraft and social ostracism.

The phrase, "man does not live by bread alone," is very much of a truism here. If the primary factor in determining behavior were economical, the villager would have no need to live within the customary standards of living of his community nor would the corporate community persist. Each Indian could become a laborer of some sort, and integrate himself into the national society of Mexico.

But people make choices not only because they are financially advantageous, but because they preserve their standing within their kinship group, they provide satisfaction for their need of the psychological rewards of prestige and positive affection and for their need for "belonging" to a group of similar human beings with similar culture and aspirations.

We have to admit, then, that it is as impossible to analyze social dynamics, only taking into account economic variables, as

121 it is impossible to do it taking into account any other variable in isolation. Social structures are built up around several simultaneously activated domains of phenomena. Kinship (or the biological facts of birth and copulation and the concomitant social facts of descent and affinality) is one domain. Economics (or the system for the production and allocation of rights over material goods and services) is another domain. Territorial allegiances, based on spatial proximity or distance, is another. The domain of the psychological (the inherent needs of human beings for sociality, positive affection, the sharing of moral values with other men [and perhaps the need for controlling others]), is still another domain.

182
796 If we take ritual as a projective system of the importance of social domains, we can see that it involves, in every case, several of them.

• [571] [527] [764] [602] [241] For example, in Aguacatenango and Amatenango, ritual practices are oriented towards: (1) expressing tensions between individuals among whom harmonic relations are re-established through the curing ceremony; (2) expressing the territorial attachments of people, such as the ceremonies for housewarmings and the fact that in the cemetery people are buried according to the place in which they resided (the cemetery is a small replica of the village); (3) expressing kinship bonds, such as the marriage ceremony, the baptisms and compadrazgos, the food given to the ancestors on Todos Santos, etc.; (4) expressing economic needs, such as the rituals performed to insure the success of the harvest.

000 Within the same cultural frame, two social groups can

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

000 true for more than the specific case studied by them, and it only discusses one set of domains of the family: socialization and its concomitant psychological variables.

It well could be that some societies seem to emphasize structural arrangements in one domain over the others. The more difficult it is for a society to procure the basic biological needs for food, the more the economic domain can be a primary determinant of organization. The more complex a descent system and the more functions it performs in the political and ritual domains (such as the Hopi), the more kinship would tend to be emphasized by the structural arrangements as viewed by the natives themselves. That does not mean that the anthropologists cannot and should not be able to see the concomitant effects of the other domains. A study of any social group has to be, if it is going to contribute anything to our knowledge of human activity and motivations, a multi-variable analysis. A neat analysis based on a single focus of observation may well be an elegant piece of research, and simultaneously, a biased account of human life.

128 I think that my study of two Chiapas villages contributes
184 somewhat to the clarification of several problems which were set forth in the Introduction. (1) It shows, I think conclusively, that social variations in Middle American Indian communities are not only the result of acculturation, but also the result of the
128 delicate internal adjustments of their institutions. (2) It shows
591 that residence is a system of social coalitions to express both
571 kinship and economic interdependency. From the point of view of
602 any one individual and from the point of view of a small group,

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

128 residence changes through time, in a developmental cycle which is
591 the result of the developmental cycle of the domestic group, both
[57] as a kinship unit and as economic centers of village life. (3) It
[602] tries to contribute to the study of residence by showing how a combined methodology, utilizing both Fischer's residence typology and Fortes' developmental cycle analysis, can render more fruitful
128 descriptions than either of the two methods in isolation. (4) It
592 shows how a single institution, the household, is affected by the multiple pressures of several alternate social domains, and how its functioning is adjusted and organized in reference to the multivariable social world.

128 I am aware that the study has suffered at times for lack of depth in the analysis of particular data. I have been unable to discuss carefully the implications of the functions of bride-price in the two communities, because I lack sufficiently objective data to support my ideas or disprove them. The same is true for a more careful analysis of the social dynamics of coalitions between siblings and between individuals living outside each domestic
128 unit. Although June Nash's dissertation offers several complete
114 examples of sibling interaction, and Metzger's field notes have
127 invaluable information in certain kinship roles, I lacked the equivalent materials from the two communities to make a more than superficial comparison.

000 I do not expect, however, this study to be the end of my inquiry into the subject. I propose to continue working in the same area of the world in the future (perhaps in the same

the new officials are publicly defined before overlapping sets of participants and observers. Within each setting, the multiple sets of relationships which determine the individual's selection for a role are indicated in Appendix 3.

It has often been stated of Guatemalan and Mexican highland Maya communities that public office is an undertaking of the household. The precise dimensions of this support have yet to be defined in an activity context. Visitors and helpers in the household celebration provide one such context in which the parameters of the aid can be defined (Charts 2, 3, 4). Primary support is given by the official's wife, without whom he would not be serving in the hierarchy.[5] She serves him by waiting for him in the house, taking care of the money he might have to guard as a civil official, and watching him while he is drunk from the bouts in the townhall so that he will not harm himself by falling in the fire or be harmed by his enemies. His advisors and councilors in the household are the *nakawanchetik*.[6] These are men who have passed through some of the civil offices —at least those of *alferez* and first regidor—and who are somehow related to the new official.[7] A second group of supporters in the household serve as errand boys and assistants, the *balnialetik*. They are chosen from among brothers, brothers-in-law,[8] sons, *compadres* (ritual co-parents), godchildren, and neighbors. A third group are the *ikoltawanchetik*, the fe-

[5] Innumerable instances attest to the significance of the wife in officeholding. For example, at the final ceremony in a betrothal, the boy is advised by his elders that now he will be called to serve the pueblo. Or, in the court case of a judge whose wife wished to leave him because he had beaten her, the other judges counseled her to wait until he had completed his term of office.

[6] The term *nakawanchetik* may be derived from the honorific prefix *nak*, found in other Maya languages (Laf'arge, 1947). Another possibility is that it may be the stem *na*, 'house,' plus *kawanchetik*, tentatively glossed as 'officials.'

[7] In the case of the president (in the observed sequence) his father, who had passed through all the offices up to the first judge and had fulfilled his turns in the religious hierarchy as well, was the first *nakawan*.

[8] The term *bal* is generic for brother-in-law, *nial* for father-in-law, but whether this formerly had significance in the selection of assistance I do not know. At present, brothers-in-law are chosen along with others, such as godchildren or neighbors.

621* [571] [602] 621* 592 [574] [593] [602] [193] [601]

[P. 216-8]

Q. 68) is a review of the major activities in which they will take part in the church. The phrase 'before the face of,' *ta sit*, is the orientation he indicates to the new mayordomos to perform these acts.

The ceremony in the church when the mayordomos receive their candles is limited to the few words of advice spoken to them by the fiscal and the passing over of the candles. There is no representation by the civil authorities in the ceremonial aspect of installation, although the fiscal, in his dual office as assistant to the priest and as president, indirectly takes this role. The alfereces, who provide the link on other occasions for the civil officers' inauguration, are not active during this changing of the religious officers. Following the ceremony inside the church, the town treasurer and síndico help the fiscal count the money passed over with each *kobraria*. Thus the "integration" of the hierarchy is asymmetrical, providing for a church representation in civil affairs, but only in a limited sense is there the reverse.

The mayordomos return to the house of the *kobraria* Sakramentu. The *nakawanehetik* have lost their place of honor at the *hol wanku*, 'head of the bench,' and are sleeping under the bench or in the corner. Their presence is no longer socially marked, and it is not a point which was elicited.

The behavior during the inauguration of civil officials showed the following structural features. The hierarchy of civil officials is not a smooth stepladder but a segmented order. The categories elicited in the first session with the informant—*alkaletik*, *rehiroletik*, and *mayoletik*—act in concert, move in unison, and sit in the same areas in all the settings (App. 1, Q. 14, 15, 51, 64–74). Each of the three categories has its internal hierarchy, ranging from first to fourth, physically denoted by the order in which they sit and drink. Those who speak the greetings are the men in the first position of each category. They order their group or the group immediately below them. Thus, the judge issues an order to the fourth regidor to get liquor (App. 1, Q. 55) and the first police orders the commissioner from the rural colonias to get liquor for their group (App. 1, Q. 79). In these behavioral indices one can see the segmentation of the civil hierarchy, ordered by age, skill acquired in the expensive office of alferez, and territorial identification. Age grading is absolute only between the segments, and is roughly applicable within each segment.

In the inauguration of the religious officials, elder and younger officials associated with each saint act

[P 219-A] TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 220-A

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo?ontahal

CHANGE OF OFFICIALS Replication of behavior in both civil and religious inauguration is also seen in the house ceremonies. Prior to setting out to the townhall or to the church, the new officials acquire a sense of the sacred obligations they are about to undertake from the words of the *nakawanehetik*.

The major behavioral schema are established in the settings in which activities occur. In each setting, the actors assert status in a social arrangement by their position in a physical arrangement: seating order clockwise from the door indicates rank order in all settings. The same act has a different significance in each setting. For example, drinking in the townhall differs from drinking in the house because it ties together different sets of actors.[10] As the actors move from one setting to the next, they are accompanied by some of the members linking them to the prior setting, as when the *nakawanehetik* accompany the president to the townhall.

The significance of setting in allocating roles is evident in the Tzeltal terms for categories of officials: religious officials are called "officials in the church" *(?a?teletik te ta č'ulna)* and civil officials are called "officials in the townhall" *(?a?teletik te ta č'ulna)*. If my guess concerning the derivation of the term *nakawane* from house officials is correct (note 6), then this category derives its name from the locus in which authority is recognized.

The analysis of behavior, or roles in action, corroborates some of the understandings gained from eliciting the structure, but requires some modification. The segmentary character of the hierarchy is evidenced in the domain, action, and the timing of action. However, qualifications of the elicited model must be made on the basis of the behavioral data. First, the asymmetry of the links between civil and religious officials in the church setting as compared with the townhall setting requires a qualification of the meaning of the integration for the two wings.

[10] This adds a further caveat to the "behaviorist fallacies" pointed out by Lewin (1951, p. 79) when the psychological setting is ignored in the description of the physical dimension of an act.

[P 221 - A)

public in the procession around the plaza (App. 1, Q. 39). The mayordomos gather in the church specifically to view the new incumbents (App. 1, Q. 50). There is less public display of new officeholders in the case of the religious officials than in the case of civil officials.

The morphological description of the structure of a society is inadequate unless it includes role behavior as well as status positions. The behavioral data pro-

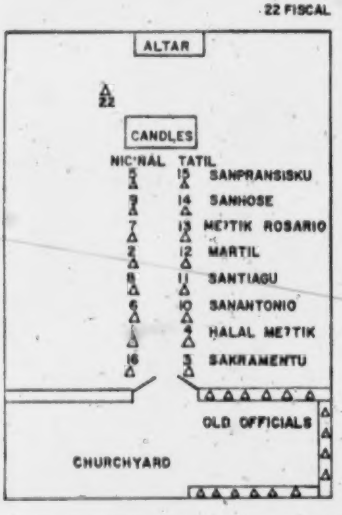

CHART 15 — NEW MAYORDOMOS INSIDE CHURCH, FIESTA OF SAN PEDRO SAN PABLO (OBSERVED)

vide the basis for describing the physiology of a culture, or how actors and social groups interrelate in carrying out tasks. In the inaugurations, the household emerged in the behavioral descriptions as an important ritual domain supporting the civil and religious hierarchy. Similarly, the asymmetrical relation between the role of religious officials in the civil inauguration and that of civil officials in the religious

[P. 228-A)

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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inauguration is deduced from both elicited and observed behavior. These data complement the elicited material on structure in rounding out the ethnographic model of social reality.

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Specification of the behavioral data on which structural and functional statements are made should provide the basis for more precise comparisons over time and between communities. I turn to the observed interaction to summarize the evidence for microchange within the community.

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Outside of the formally prescribed behavior scheduled in the inauguration, a struggle for power is going on which is leading to important organizational changes in the town. This was suggested in the substitution of the schoolteacher for the former Ladino secretary in the act of giving the oath. Factional struggle of the leaders of the new enterprises was revealed in this substitution. Further evidence of change is seen in the redefinition of the president's position in relation to that of the principales. The potential power which the post offers to the incumbent and those who back him is now recognized. The risks are higher as the competition for the post increases.

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In the religious sphere the priest's increasing control over the domain of the church is seen in the shift of setting for the common meal from the churchyard to the *ʔali⁷bal's* house. This evoked the story of the open confrontation of the priest and cofrades a few years before. Public counting of funds by civil officials suggests an attempt by the new leadership to thwart the priest's dominance over the cofrades.

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In the emergent struggle for power within the community, we see not just a defensive reaction to Ladinos by Indians of a corporate community, but a play for stakes in the same world. This suggests that the corporate community, now and in the future, serves not so much as an insulation from the outside world as in the past but as a springboard for the entry of the Indians into fuller participation in the national society.

[P 228-B]